THE BOUNDARIES OF THE SCOTCH-IRISH DIALECTS IN ULSTER

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Chapter I

A scientific survey of any aspect of the Scotch-Irish dialects in Ulster would be a linguistic study interesting in itself. Such a survey becomes much more meaningful, however, when related to the wider background of English dialectology.

In Ulster itself for the last twelve years a programme of voluntary research has been carried on by the Folklore and Dialect Section of the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club, which apart from its own efforts has been working in close co-operation with the Linguistic Survey of Scotland since 1953. From this activity much valuable material has been amassed both in Belfast and in Edinburgh: files have been established, maps drawn, articles and papers written, talks given and seminars and exhibitions held ...

For Ireland as a whole a carefully planned preliminary linguistic survey was carried out by Dr. Patrick L. Henry during the years 1953-55 and the results published in Lochlann.[1]

The Linguistic Survey of Scotland mentioned above has been in operation since 1949 and has accumulated an impressive archive in Edinburgh. The results of widely plied lexical questionnaires[2] have been tabulated and mapped, and the data provided by a later, detailed phonological survey[3] are being

analysed linguistically. This investigation penetrates beyond the Scottish borders into Ulster - as already stated - and also into the northernmost counties of England.

From Leeds as centre an extensive survey of the dialects of England has been in progress since 1950, based on a questionnaire which includes phonological, morphological and syntactical, as well as purely lexical items.[4] In addition to articles and a preliminary explanatory volume, the first volume of a detailed report, which covers the northern counties, has now been published.[5]

The research on the boundaries of the SI dialects in Ulster, which is the subject of the present thesis, was undertaken as a special project during a year's leave of absence, 1960-61. The delineation of boundaries between the two major varieties of dialectical English spoken in Ireland is obviously of importance internally to any Ulster or general Irish linguistic survey but is equally the concern of the Edinburgh investigation, intent on following up the external expansion of Lowland Scots speech. The fact that SI marches on almost all its limits with UAI, whose English features - sometimes archaic N or W Midland - emerge in contrast with the Scottish, provides a link with the Leeds survey.

These bonds with British dialectology seem easy enough to establish, but important also, although rather less obvious, are the links with North American linguistic geography. Dr. Hans Kurath and his followers in the United States have found traces of the Scotch-Irish in parts of New England, in Pennsylvania, the Ohio valley, the southern Highlands and, at a later stage, points west of these areas. In fact the Scotch-Irish immigration was so intense in the early 18th century that just after the War of Independence estimates show that out of a total population of three million, between a half and one million were of Ulster descent.[6]

Later, in the 19th and 20th century, eastern Canada received (and is still receiving) a large influx of emigrants from Ulster, who have left their linguistic mark in various parts of Ontario in particular: the Ottawa valley, Essex County, the area around Peterborough and Parry Sound.

It must be borne in mind, however, that when North American historians or linguists use the term Scotch-Irish it is usually in a rather wide sense covering things or persons of Ulster origin in general, and for dialect in particular, covering any type of Ulster speech that is clearly distinct from the typical and well-known southern Irish "brogue."

When we consider the term SI with regard to Ulster itself it is necessary to define it more closely.

We must distinguish two types:

(i) <u>rural</u> SI dialects - the subject of the present thesis - still spoken in the areas that were most intensively settled by Lowland Scots planters during the 17th century.

(ii) <u>urban</u> SI, which is a regional version of the standard English language, heard in towns located within the above-mentioned areas and also used by educated rural SI bi-linguals as their "other" language. With the extension of education and the development of modern communications the spread of the second variety of SI at the expense of the first is everywhere apparent and in time is likely to supplant it.[7]

Apart from supplementing current surveys in other parts of the English-speaking world, the study of rural SI has another aspect which is of particular interest to dialectologists, philologists, lexicographers, etc., namely its preservation of certain apparent archaisms over against the dialects of Ayrshire and SW Scotland in general from which it springs. Thus in the vocalic nucleus of words with OE-<u>ald</u>, the ESc transitional diphthongal stage <u>au</u> has been preserved in all the Ulster SI districts (the SI reflex being centred to [əü]), whereas in most Scots dialect the early diphthong was levelled to [ɑ:] or [ɔ:]. This diphthong survived in

Scotland only in a few very marginal places, e.g., in Campbelltown (Argyllshire), Caithness, on Black Isle and Easter Ross, and in parts of Ayrshire.

Its very existence in Ulster is evidence of its persistence and widespread if not universal use in SW Scotland in the early 17th century and perhaps even later. The competing forms with [a:] crop up in only a few words in a few places in Ulster and always in addition to the [əü]-forms. Mostly there is a semantic difference between the two forms so that they are not actually in competition with one another.

The [a:]-form of old *suggests familiar affection*[8] *as in*

ˈa:l ˈfok	*old folk*
ˈa:l ˈtəimz	*old times*
ðe ˈa:l ˈsü:	*the old sow*
ðe ˈa:l ˈmi:r	*the old mare*

On the other hand the [əü]-form may be used in a derogatory[8] *sense:*

ən ˈəül ˈgërn

ə ˈgërne ˈəül ˈa:rər ˌka:p

both used of a person continually complaining. Similar semantic oppositions are valid for [ka:l] versus [kəül], meaning cold.

There is the further series of archaisms in the vowel of such words as above, done, good, i.e., the

reflex of ME ō, which still have [i] in many parts of Ulster (generally remote from the ports of entry of the seventeenth-century Scots settlers). These [i]-forms were thought to be paralleled only in the NE Scots dialects, but recently the LSS has come upon a SW area at Wanlockhead and Leadhills on the borders of Dumfries and Lanarkshire where the same [i]-forms have survived. Their distribution in Ulster would argue that here again we are dealing with a pronunciation that was widely current, if not universal, in SW Scotland during at least the early 17th century. The forms now current in SW Scotland with [ɨ] or [e] instead of [i] are found in Ulster in the N Ards and Co.Antrim, i.e., in places close to the Scottish source of diffusion for these innovations.

In the same way archaic or obsolescent pronunciations stemming from N and W Midland English sources are still currently widespread in the UAI areas and are in fact considered so "normal" that the SI speakers who wish to use what they think of as "standard" have actually adopted these English dialectal archaisms, assuming them to be "correct" English over against their "broken Scotch". Thus they reply to queries about the local name for a female sheep by saying "we call her a [jəʉ] but it should be a [jo:] shouldn't it?" Similarly with <u>thaw</u> [θo:], and <u>straw</u> [STRo:].[9]

From the point of view of general linguistics, SI dialectology reveals several interesting phenomena worthy of discussion.

There is the general study of what happens when a new language makes a massive incursion into the domain of a language of a very different type. The resultant mutual adjustments which inevitably take place during the period of bilingualism preceding the ultimate and perhaps inevitable disappearance of one of the two languages can be studied at all linguistic levels - phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical and semantic. For the purposes of the present thesis the phonological aspect of these adjustments is of the utmost importance and a detailed study of the relationship between the phonology of SI urban and rural on the one hand and of Co.Antrim Gaelic on the other has shown that there must have been a considerable carry-over from the latter to the former.[10]

Chapter II

Much has been written and many are the controversies involved in the history of the Ulster plantation.[11] For our present purposes, however, an outline including only the salient features of this modern Völkerwanderung is sufficient.

Up to the end of the reign of Elizabeth I the province of Ulster was overwhelmingly Gaelic-speaking, whatever Norman settlers remained having become "more Irish than the Irish themselves." Even the Scottish Highlanders under the Macdonnells of the Isles, who had acquired and been confirmed in the possession of large parts of Co. Antrim, spoke a type of Gaelic which must have been very similar to the local Ulster Gaelic, because of the unbroken contacts and the population movements back and forth across the North Channel since the 5th century. Only the walled town of Carrickfergus and the town of Newry with its immediate surroundings were English-speaking.

The 300,000 acres of Antrim territory in the Route and the Glynnes (stretching from Larne to Coleraine) which King James granted to Randal Macdonnell by patent deed in 1603 was largely uninhabited at that time. Macdonnell, although a Roman Catholic himself, found it expedient and profitable to people his vast estate with Protestant Lowland Scots. The Scots penetrated beyond

the bounds of the Macdonnell territory into lands in S.Antrim that had been granted to the English undertakers and occupied the county approximately as far south as the upper reaches of the Six Mile Water.

Co.Down has a somewhat different settlement history. There, by a twist of fate Con O'Neill lost a great portion of his huge Clannaboy estate to two enterprising Scots, Hugh Montgomery, Laird of Braidstane, and James Hamilton of Dunlop, both Ayrshire men, who brought in thousands of planters through the ports of Donaghadee and Bangor respectively. O'Neill finally lost what was left of his land to Sir Moyses Hill, an English undertaker who peopled his territory with English planters.

Apart from these three grants, the Barony of Lecale (which had come under the control of an Englishman, Sir Nicholas Bagenal), and the southern end of the Ards Peninsula (which remained under the sway of the Savages, a Norman family that had "gone Irish"), the rest of the county remained under native Irish control.

Unlike Antrim and Down, which were planted by private enterprise, Derry was included in the official Plantation plans. Its settlement was the prerogative of the London companies which had little luck in the enterprise.[12] The Lowland Scots, because of their closer bases, were able to take over a good portion of the NE corner

of the county and penetrate loosely the rest of Derry and Tyrone.

It was also as part of the official Plantation plans that Scots planters were brought over to Donegal from 1610 onwards by the Ayrshire families of Cunningham and Stewart. They were settled in the northern parts of the fertile low-lying region known as the Laggan. The southern parts of the Laggan were English-settled and most of the remainder of the county was left to the native Irish.

Thus the Scottish settlers came to occupy solidly a wide band of coastal territory extending from the Ards in NE Down northwards, taking in most of Co.Antrim, the NE corner of Derry and the northern portion of the Laggan district in E Donegal.

As for their place of origin, it is well established now through denizenship papers and other historical sources that most of the Scots planters came from Ayrshire and the adjacent counties of Renfrew and Dumbarton and from Galloway in general.[13] The relatively small group of English settlers brought over by Chichester came mainly from Devon, but the predominant English group hailed from S Lancashire, Cheshire and the general hinterland of the N and W Midlands.

One common misconception about the plantation of Ulster is that it consisted of one rapidly executed

transfer of population. In effect, there was a continuous but fluctuating movement of settlers across the North Channel and the Irish Sea throughout the 17th century and beyond, with an occasional reflux following civil disturbances such as the uprising of 1641. From about 1720, however, as a result of legislation oppressive to non-conformists, a new migratory movement began - this time mainly of the Scotch-Irish across the Atlantic to N. America.[14] It is noteworthy that in spite of this mass exodus the SI districts of Ulster were never depopulated and in fact have maintained their own character down to the present day.

Apart from these historical population movements, certain geographical factors played an important role in the actual location of settlers. Mountainous areas in general were left in the hands of the native Irish. According to Canon Hume[15] the best arable lands were allocated to English settlers and other cultivateable lands to the Scots who often had to clear forest and scrub before farming operations could begin. Boggy areas were either uninhabited or peopled sparsely by native Irish for centuries. These bogs posed - like the mountains - natural barriers between the settlers and the native Irish, barriers which were at the same time linguistic boundaries, and only in recent times with the progress of land drainage schemes have these

areas been opened up to settlement. Thus the SI-UAI boundary in the S.Ards peninsula coincides with the limits of a former boggy tract cutting off the Portaferry end of the Ards. The Magilligan area in NE Derry likewise was opened up just a century ago by a drainage scheme and settled by Lagganeers from E.Donegal, a fact still apparent in the current dialectal subdivisions. The SW corner of Antrim, N of Lough Neagh, suffered also in earlier times from flooding and bad drainage. In the last century with the help of a reclamation scheme this area, which must formerly have set limits to the westward drive of the Scots settlers, was once more opened to settlement. This time people moved in from different directions with the result that we have nowadays a mixed dialect zone.

Chapter III

The present distribution of dialects in Ulster reflects to a large extent the settlement patterns laid down in the 17th century.

Regions occupied predominantly by English planters at that time still exhibit many characteristics of the dialects of the N and W Midlands, the original home of most of these settlers. The modern dialects spoken by the descendants of these planters may be referred to in general terms as Ulster Anglo-Irish (UAI) in contrast with Anglo-Irish proper which is generally used as a designation for the Dublin or southern Irish type of English. UAI of one type or another may, then, be assumed to be the dialect in all areas outside the SI- and Gaelic-speaking districts, although it would be easy (and wiser) to recognize a sub-variety which we might call Hiberno-English (HE) in which the Gaelic polarity is predominant. HE arises in all bilingual areas where the acquired tongue, English, is heavily coloured phonologically (θ>T, ð>D, r>R, etc.) as well as syntactically ("It does be stormy")[16], lexically and semantically by the native Gaelic speech. This creolized type of English may be self-perpetuating in a few areas after the disappearance of Gaelic, although its ultimate fate would seem to be a levelling under the pressure of UAI. The English spoken in Glenvar, in the Fanad

peninsula further north, in the mountainous zone around Churchill (and in fact all points west of the Laggan) and in N. Inishowen could, in most cases, be classified as HE. A similar type of HE crops up in the Sperrins (Co.Derry) at Magheraneany.[17] The Devon-type of English which must have been spoken earlier by Chichester's planters around Carrickfergus seems to have been submerged by the more generalized UAI, but in the barony of Lecale a very distinctive Anglo-Irish dialect has survived (probably from the time of Bagenal's settlement) which is in marked contrast with the neighbouring UAI. Speakers of the latter from the Portaferry end of the Ards as well as from the Killyleagh area are very conscious of the distinctiveness of this Strangford-Downpatrick speech, especially in its handling of the diphthongal reflex of ME Ī. The UAI speakers along the fringes of the SI area all have two reflexes, a broad [ae] and a narrow [əi], distributed partly on an allophonic, partly on a contrastive basis, as in the SI dialects themselves, but with a different incidence.[18] The Lecale dialect, on the other hand, has only one reflex, viz., [ae] which stands out in sharp dialectal opposition to Portaferry or Killyleagh [əi] in such words as eye, die, why, etc.

The Lowland Scots dialects have likewise been preserved in the areas of intensive Scottish settlement. That typically Scots lexical items (as distinct from the

the full-blown historical-phonological system) are found everywhere in Ulster reflects the fact that many small groups of Lowlanders pushed far beyond the limits of the homogeneously Scots-settled areas and in time assimilated to the surrounding UAI speech, but not before bequeathing many expressive items to the vocabulary of their neighbours.[19]

The SI dialects have a distribution that is largely coastal. They dominate the whole of the NE corner of Co.Down, i.e., the Ards peninsula (excluding the southern end, around Portaferry) and the area west of Strangford Lough from a point north of Killyleagh, sweeping west almost to Hillsborough and north, skirting the boundaries of Belfast itself.

Antrim, however, is the heartland of the SI dialects. Apart from the English-settled parishes in the southern part, the formerly boggy corner between the Bann river and the north shores of Lough Neagh, and the mountainous Glens in the NE, the whole county is dominated by various forms of SI among which it is possible to distinguish a northern sub-dialect with /e/ instead of /ɪ̈/ as reflex of ESc/MSc ʉ̈.[20] Within the latter it is possible to distinguish a distinctive coastal dialect in which /ɐ̈/ has largely replaced /ʌ/ in a wide range of words.[21]

NE Derry SI is really an overspill of the northern sub-dialect of Antrim which straddles the Bann almost

as far upstream as the Rasharkin-Kilrea crossing. The Magilligan area as mentioned above was settled as late as the last century by Laganeers from E Donegal who brought with them their distinctive version of SI with its [əˈbin] above, [din] done, [gid] good, etc.

The SI of Donegal is centred in the Laggan district extending northwards to the foothills of the mountain zone of the Inishowen peninsula and to the Knockalla range which cuts across the Fanad peninsula. The mountains of central Donegal form the western limits of SI, the watershed between the rivers Finn and Deele the southern limits, and the Foyle itself the eastern bounds of the dialect.

As far as the nature of the dialectal borders is concerned, SI marches for the most part with various forms of UAI, but in Fanad (along the southern boundary of Glenvar) and to the west of the Laggan the boundary is formed by Gaelic.

The SI dialect boundary stretching E-W across the S.Ards is with a variety of standard English in many ways resembles SI urban, in other words, the type of English used by educated bilingual speakers of SI rural or used in the towns of the SI areas. On the west side of Strangford Lough SI borders on the typical Co.Down version of UAI all the way west from Killyleagh to near Hillsborough and then northward touching upon the

outskirts of Belfast which has, of course, its own particular city version of UAI,[22] nowadays reaching out eastwards all the way along Belfast Lough's southern shore to Bangor and Groomsport.

All these Co.Down SI boundaries are quite sharply defined over against UAI, although the division at the eastern -Cloughey- end of the S.Ards border is less clearly marked than at the Ardkeen end.[23] The typical Scots forms have strayed much further south on the east coast than on the west, which may be explained partly by the poor communications on the west at an earlier date, before the drainage scheme had opened up the Ardkeen area.

Belfast UAI also stretches along the northern shores of the Lough as far as Whitehead and forms a sharp boundary with E Antrim and, partly, with Mid Antrim SI. Further west, a more rural type of UAI provides an equally clear-cut border running towards Lough Neagh and passing north of Antrim town. The rather mixed dialect of the area north of Lough Neagh and west to the Bann[24] forms a vaguer boundary for the one hundred per cent SI of W Mid Antrim, but the UAI of the Glens in the NE corner of the county stands out in sharp contrast to the N Antrim and Braid versions of SI.

On the Derry side of the Bann the local UAI, S and W of the SI area, is again sharply contrastive,

and the same holds good for the situation in Inishowen and the S Laggan in Donegal. The border with Gaelic to the W and N of the Laggan is, of course, the sharpest possible contrast, as it is part of one of the major European linguistic boundaries - that between Germanic and Celtic.[25] Yet in spite of this apparently sudden transition, the SI dialect of the Laggan has actually intruded across the line as the second language of most, of the Gaelic speakers living near the border.

Chapter IV

(a) A lifetime's collection of materials for a detailed study of the East Antrim dialect of Glenoe (G) is the basis of the present research project on the SI dialect boundaries in Ulster. From this bulky corpus two articles were written for Orbis, the first being a brief analysis of the synchronic phonology of G with a phonetic description followed by a phonemic statement, and the second dealing with the diachronic phonology, starting, however, not with ME or OE, but working back from the current dialectal sounds to the older forms of which they are the reflexes. The whole approach was thus dialect-centred.[26]

PHONOLOGY

For the purposes of this thesis a brief summary of the relevant features of the G phonological system is presented at this point:

VOWELS

G has a range of fourteen vocalic phonemes:

No 1 /i/ (close, front) is best regarded as basically short with a long allophone in final open syllables, in hiatus, and before voiced fricatives including [r] :

gin	gave, given	BUT gi:	give
dif	deaf	di:v	deafen
ˈbri:ər	briar		

No 2 /e/ (half-close, front) is realized as a long vowel in syllables with primary or secondary stress but has a short variant in weakly stressed positions:

ə ˈbɛ:tər ˈde: a better day

ˈsɛ:tərde Saturday

ˈsʌm ˌde: some day

ˈsʌnde Sunday

Some speakers use a diphthongal variant with a schwa-glide in pre-consontal positions:

weən child, heəm home,

seəl sail, geət gate

No 3 /ɛ/ (half-open, front) is generally realized as a long vowel:

ˈɛ:fтər ˌgrɛ:s aftermath, hɛ:sp hasp

hɛ:rvəst harvest, ˈdɛ:nər dinner.

No 4 /ü/ has four positional variants. The main member (close, front-central, rounded) occurs in open syllables, in hiatus, and before the voiced fricatives [v] and [z]. It is always long:

kü: cow, ˈsü:ər shower,

ˈθü:zn̩ thousand

A short, opener allophone [ü] occurs in closed syllables generally and in dissyllables with at least one medial consonant other than [v], [z] and [r] and with strongly stressed first syllable:

hüs house ˈhüsəz houses

ˈkʉ̈tər *coulter, nose,* ˈpʉ̈ðər *powder*

The third allophone is long and rounded but is lowered to the half close position and occurs only before [r]:

ø:r *our,* pø:r *pour,*

kø:rs *coarse; course,* kø:rt *court*

Fourthly, an advanced allophone, [ÿ] , *occurs following a yod, a palatalized consonant or an affricate, which is often the result of an earlier palatalization:*

bjÿ: *blue (earlier* [blʲÿ:])

pjÿ: *plough (earlier* [plʲÿ:])

ˈlʲÿ: ˈwa:rm *lukewarm*

It must be noted that morphology plays a part in the distribution of these allophones. For example, monosyllables such as smü:ð *(smooth) keep* [ü:] *in inflected or derivative forms:* smü:ðz *smooths,* smü:ðd *smoothed,* ˈsmü:ðən *smoothing,* ˈsmüðər *smoother. In these forms* [ü:] *points to a morphological juncture whereas in non-derivative forms such as* [ˈpʉ̈ðər] *powder and* [ˈsʉ̈ðər] *shoulder* [ü] *points to a solid morpheme.*

The occurrence of [ÿ:] *in* [ˈbjÿte] *(beauty) and* [ˈdzʲÿte] , *over against* [ü] *in* [ˈbüte] *booty,* [ˈfüte] *small, trifling, etc., seems to be due to the preceding palatal elements (the yod in* [ˈbjÿ:te]

and the [dz̈] < *earlier*[d̈] , *in* [ˈdz̈ÿ:te], *coupled with another, following, yod element, for*[e] *is undoubtedly from earlier* [i].

No 5 /ï/ *(between close and half-close, between front and central) has one slightly lowered variant* [ë] *which occurs before* [r] *in*

flë:r *floor,* pë:r *poor*

The main member occurs in

ə ˈbïn *above* dïn *done*

gïs *goose* gïd *good*

pït *put* skïl *school*

No 6 /ä̈/ *(open between front and central) occurs with primary stress in most cases:*

blä̈n *blind* tä̈p *ram*

brä̈g *bridge* rä̈d *red*

but also with secondary stress in

ˈbɛ:d ˌtä̈k

No 7 /o/ *(between close and half-close, back overrounded) is realized mostly as a long vowel:*

bo:k *retch,* ˈgo:pən *double handful*

ˈlo:nən *lane* ˈmo:rnən *morning*

but a short variant occurs marginally in a few words including:

spok *spoke (sb)* pok *small bag*

which are thus in phonological contrast with:

spo:k *spoke (vb)* po:k *poke (vb)*

No 8 /ʌ/ (half-open, back) is always short and occurs in:

ˈwʌntər	*winter*	ˈmʌne	*many*
dʌg	*dog*	grʌn	*ground*
ˈbrʌkl̩	*brittle*	ˈstʌde	*steady*

No 9 /ɔ/ (half-open, back, rounded) is always long and occurs in:

strɔ:ŋ	*strong*	ˈθrɔ:ən	*obstinate*
fɔ:	*fall*	twɔ:	*two*
blɔ:	*blow*	ˈbɔ:rə	*barrow*

No 10 /ɑ/ (open, back) is always long and occurs in:

ˈɑ:tər ˌkɑ:p	*peevish person*		
ˈɑ:pən	*open*	stɑ:p	*stop*
hɑ:b	*hob*	sɑ:ft	*soft*
ˈbɑ:tl̩	*bottle (of straw, etc.,)*		
lɑ:ŋ	*long*	wɑ:t	*wet (adj.)*

DIPHTHONGS

For comparative and historical purposes it is convenient to treat the four diphthongal vocalic nuclei of G as distinct phonological units:

No 11 /əi / as in fəif *fife*, məin *mine (sb)*, pəi *pay*, ˈwəiər *wire*.

No 12 /ae/as in faev *five*, maen *mine (adj.)*, pae *pie*, ˈtaeər *tire, tyre*.

No 13 /ɔe/ as in bɔe *boy*, ˈmɔele *hornless*, stɔex *stench*.

No 14 /əü/ as in nəü *knoll*, rəül *roll*, ˈfəüər *four*

These diphthongs are all of the descending type, with a relatively strong stress on the first element and various glides making up the second; thus the glide in No 13 reaches the close front position, in Nos 14 and 15, the half-close front position only, and in No 16, the close position between front and central, rounded. The schwa as first element is quite short, especially in closed syllables ending with an unvoiced consonant:

rəis *rice,* bəit *bite;* ləüs *loose*

Both elements of this diphthong may be slightly longer before voiced consonants or in open syllables and may be closely transcribed thus:

rə•i•z *rise,* bə•i•d *bide* jə•ü• *ewe*

hə•i• *hay* lə•ü•z *loosen*

The ɑ *and* ɔ *as first elements are, however, long and may even be over-long, which gives the impression of two syllables instead of one:*

kɑ:e *or* ˈkɑ::e *cows;* tɔ:e *or* ˈtɔ::e *toy*

The distribution of /əi/ *and* /ɑe/ *in G is typical of the SI dialects. In this respect the latter are in contrast with UAI dialects which have only one diphthong of this type. Traces of an allophonic distribution are clearly marked in G, in that* [ɑe] *occurs before voiced fricatives (including* [r] *), in hiatus, and in most final open syllables, whereas* [əi] *occurs in other situations, thus:*

praez (*prize*) *versus* prəis (*price*)

ˈfaeəl (*phial*) *versus* fəil (*file*)

tae (*tie*) *versus* təid (*tide*)

This simple picture has been disturbed, however, by various factors: the historical falling-together of certain diphthongs, e.g., [əi] (<*ME* ei/ai) *which in open syllables is in contrast with the regular* [ae] < *ME* ī *and gives rise to many minimal pairs:*

< *ME* ei/ai		< *ME* ī	
əi	*always*	ae	*I*
bəi	*bay*	bae	*buy, by*
gəi	*very*	gae	*guy*
məi	*May*	mae	*my*
pəi	*pay*	pae	*pie*
stəi	*stay*	stae	*(pig)sty*

Verb forms occasionally have "irregular" diphthongs which can be ascribed to the operation of analogy, thus:

DRəiv	*drive*	(DRo:v	*drive)*
STRəiv	*strive*	(STRo:v	*strove)*
θRəiv	*thrive*	(θRo:v	*throve)*
rəiz	*rise*	(ro:z	*rose)*

probably owe their [əi] *--for which* [ae] *would be expected-- to the analogy with, say,* rəid *ride* (ro:d *rode)*

rəit *write* (ro:t *wrote)*

The weak verb dive (dived), *on the other hand, is* [dɑev].

A more obvious case involving analogy is heard in the singular/plural forms of

ləif / ləivz (*i.e. NOT* lɑevz)

nəif / nəivz (*i.e. NOT* nɑevz)

wəif / wəivz (*i.e. NOT* wɑevz)

With these plurals cp. hɑevz < hɑev (*hive*)

Following /w/ *or* /ʍ/ *the diphthong* /əi/ *is used to the exclusion of* /ɑe/ , *regardless of what follows the diphthong, thus:*

in an open syllable	ʍəi	*why*
before voiced fricative	wəiz	*wise*
in hiatus	ˈwəiər	*wire*
	ˈkwəiər	*choir, quire*

Dialect borrowing may explain the incidence of /əi/ *in*

ˈəirlən	*Ireland*
ˈəirɪʃ	*Irish*
ʃəi	*shy (the normal dialect word is* bleːt *)*

It is worth noting, in respect to this, that in a number of words which have /i/ *in the dialect, SI urban or regional standard speech has* /əi/ *presumably borrowed from local UAI dialects, thus*

SI dialect	*UAI*	*SI urban*	*meaning*
diː	dəi	dəi	*die*
iː	əi	əi	*eye*
liː	ləi	ləi	*lie (fib)*

The SI urban forms are thus phonemically opposed to

dɑe *dye*

ɑe *I*

lɑe *lie (assume a recumbent position)*

NOTE: Apart from the fourteen vocalic phonemes listed above (all of which occur with primary or secondary stress) there is a vowel quality, [ɪ] *(between close and half-close, front) which, in syllables with relatively strong stress, is found only at morphological junctures, and which arises from a contextual shortening of* [e:] . *Examples are to be found in the fused form of verb plus negative particle, preposition or pronoun; preposition plus pronoun, etc., thus:*

de:	*do*	*BUT*	ˈdɪne	*don't*
he:	*have*	*BUT*	ˈhɪte	*have to*
fe:	*from*	*BUT*	ˈfɪme	*from me*
ne:	*no (adj.)*	*BUT*	ˈnɪθən	*nothing*

The same vowel quality also occurs in weakly stressed syllables:

ˈgɛlɪk *earwig* ɪgˈnɔ:lɪdʒ *acknowledge*

ˈpa:rɪtʃ *porridge*

A half-close, central vowel, [ə] *--the schwa--is heard also in weakly stressed syllables:*

ˈwʌndə *window* ˈhüsəz *houses*

ˈwa:ntəd *wanted* əˈbïn *above*

CONSONANTS

As mentioned in PASID58, most of the G range of consonants correspond to those of RP, but at the phonetic level G has (in addition to the various phones of the standard language) a series of breathed ejective or glottalized plosives, a full range of interdental and of alveolar-palatalized consonants and a breathed velar fricative.

This range of consonants is not, however, confined to G and the SI dialects but is found in UAI as well. Hence in seeking among the consonants differential criteria that would separate the two groups of Ulster English dialects we are thrown back on distributional contrasts. It is, for example, not the velar fricative /x/ in itself that distinguishes SI from UAI but its incidence. This sound may even be common to all or most of the dialects of whatever origin in certain words of clearly Scottish provenence such as [pɛ:x] *pant*, [ˈspra:x̟] *sprawl*, etc., where the Scottish phonology was not in obvious conflict with that of a corresponding standard word. In many words with orthographic -gh(-), however SI (like Scots) has preserved [x] which in UAI (as in RP) has become [f] or zero. This feature was found to be by far the most valuable consonantal criterion for separating SI from the other dialects and provided the basis for the first part of List 1 of the phonological questionnaire.

MORPHOLOGY

At the morphological level, G has a few features of Scottish type which mark it off from the standard language and from UAI in particular. The plural morpheme /-n/ has survived in two words:

	Singular	Plural
eye	i:	in
shoe	ʃe: or ʃü	ʃï n

as well as the Umlaut plural kae (cows).

The morphology of some of the verbs also shows typical Scottish developments:

	Present	Past
give	gi:	gin
take	ta:k	te:n

SYNTAX

An analysis of G at the syntactical level provides some interesting material but none of it offers possibilities of contrastive opposition with non-Scottish dialects. In fact the syntactical peculiarities of the Ulster dialects are frequently common to all and are of particular interest to the Celticists as they very often exhibit structural patterns calqued on Gaelic originals, which are mostly the same whether it is a question of Ulster Gaelic or Scots Gaelic:

I have a thirst on me may be compared with

Tá tort orm or Tha tart orm

(b) *Influence of SI urban speech of Larne (L) on G.*

PHONOLOGY

Although the phonetic repertoire of L is almost identical with that of G the two are, in effect, different languages by virtue of the wide range of discrepancies in the incidence of the sounds in question, particularly as regards the vowels.

The importance of L is, of course, that it is the "other" language of bilingual dialect speakers and that, as a local version of the standard language, it enjoys special prestige and exercises considerable influence over G; when a markedly Scots element in G falls into disuse it is usually replaced by the corresponding L form.

A general comparison of G with the other forms of SI reveals a very close parallelism throughout all these dialects. They form, in fact, a dialectal unity which is still very close to the speech of SW Scotland although generally more archaic in character than the latter.

The similarities are naturally most marked between G and the dialects of Mid-Antrim although those of N Antrim, which extend into NE Derry (at points L1, L2 and L3) are still very close. The speech of Magilligan, Co.Derry, -- (L4)-- represents a 19th century expansion of the SI dialect of the Laggan (L) in E Donegal. L itself diverges most widely from the G norm especially in preserving some apparent archaisms and in certain peculiarities related

undoubtedly to the local Gaelic substratum which must have differed in a few details from that of NE Ulster.[27] L links up in some typical features with the Mid Ards and a large part of the W Strangford SI dialect, not, obviously, because of geographical contiguity but because Co Down SI has also in many areas preserved the same archaisms as Donegal.

It must be emphasized that there is an overwhelming number of points of agreement among the SI dialects with regard to their reflexes of ME sounds. The main criteria by which they may be separated are the various developments of ME ō which give the subdivisions adumbrated above thus:

Reflexes of ME ō or ESc / MScū̄

L/MAr/WS/M	MAn/NAr/NWS	NAn/NED
ə ˈbin	ə ˈbïn	ə ˈben
sïn	sïn	sen
stil	stïl	stel

NA and NED have also a special treatment for the plural houses, which appears in these areas with medial [z] and the long close variant of /ü/ thus [ˈhü:zəz] over against G-type [ˈhüsəz] and the intermediate form [ˈhüzəz] , found in various places to the south of the [ˈhü:zəz] area.

Chapter V The Questionnaires

LEXICAL QUESTIONNAIRE

In the early summer of 1960 a lexical questionnaire was drawn up with the purpose in mind of determining the geographical limits of the SI dialect of the Laggan district in E Donegal. It was hoped that a number of the items would yield a bundle of isoglosses that would delineate the boundary between SI and the UAI areas.

In compiling the list, recourse was had to the literature relating to Donegal dialects:

(i) H.C. Hart's Notes on Ulster Dialect, chiefly Donegal.

(ii) H. Swan's glossary in Twixt Foyle and Swilly

(iii) M. Traynor's The English Dialect of Donegal

The latter was particularly useful. It includes not only Hart's items but hundreds of others --with etymologies -- culled from a very full bibliography of Donegal dialect literature of all types.

In the final draft of this questionnaire many other sources were consulted including the two lexical books circulated by the LSS, Orton and Dieth's questionnaire for the English Survey, Kurath's items for the American Survey and some of Henry's for the Irish Survey.

It soon became apparent, however, that many of the Scottish words had spread far beyond the original settlement area as described by the historians of the Laggan plantation, and that their rather haphazard

distribution would clearly not give a satisfactory linguistic demarcation line.[28] In other words, for the very particular objective of this investigation, this questionnaire would not serve the purpose. Something much more specific had to be devised.

PHONOLOGICAL QUESTIONNAIRE

An alternative questionnaire was then put into operation, based on some of the historical phonological differences that separate Scots from English dialects in general. These lists proved to be very successful, for it was quickly established that the typical Scottish phonological patterns had remained entrenched in the areas of intensive 17th century Scots settlement.

Far from encroaching on English-settled territory, however, these Scottish speech forms were now markedly recessive vis-ă-vis the UAI dialects. In any case, the opposition between the Lowland Scots forms and those of English provenance provided almost everywhere a sharply-defined border.

This phonological questionnaire was based in an analysis resulting from over thirty years of research on the SI dialect of Glenoe (G) in E Antrim. The starting point for this analysis was a detailed phonetic study, leading to a synchronic phonological description, upon which firm foundation was based a retrospective diachronic phonological analysis. The latter yielded lists of words

whose phonology diverged from and contrasted with that of UAI in general.

In compiling the Questionnaire these words were grouped mostly on the basis of the identity of the stressed vowel reflexes in the present-day dialect. Thus it was hoped incidentally to elicit a spread of words sufficient to exemplify for each informant his full range of vocalic phonemes along with important variants.

The questionnaire based on the G materials as first plied in the Laggan was progressively modified and reduced to its essential core. It was then adopted for the rest of the investigations and gave equally good results in NE Down, throughout Co.Antrim, in NE Derry and once again during a final visit to Donegal (to follow the chronological sequence of the various aspects of the fieldwork).

A detailed discussion of the Lists that make up the Phonological Questionnaire now follows:

List 1

For the purpose of discriminating between the SI and UAI dialects, the most important consonant by far is /x /, the reflex of the velar fricative in OE and ME. It is well preserved in all the SI areas, not only in dialect words of a Scottish type such as sheugh, pegh, spraghle, etc., but characteristically in a large number of SE words that have a UAI equivalent in which [x] > [f] or Ø:

	SI	UAI
daughter	ˈdɑːxtər	ˈdɔrər etc.
high	hix	həi
tough	tʻʌx	töf

List 2

The words in this list had ō in ME but evidently ū in ESc and MSc. This MSc vowel has a number of different SI reflexes which have a more or less clearly defined regional distribution. In some cases where we find them grouped geographically with other peculiarities we might be tempted to think in terms of subdialect areas. UAI generally has /ü/, /ʌ/ or /o/ in this List in contrast with the four or five different SI reflexes found in words such as:

above[29], afternoon, done, good, school, shoes:

(i) /i/ occurs in the mid-Ards along the boundary with S Ards AI, and in two out of every three of the places investigated to the W of Strangford Lough.

The same reflex is found in all parts of the Laggan and also in the Magilligan area, settled in the 19th century by Lagganeers. This present-day distribution interpreted in the light of our knowledge of settlement history and of the dialectal situation in Scotland would suggest that this reflex represents the most archaic form. The Laggan district, in W Ulster and furthest removed from Scottish ports of embarcation, was definitively planted

in the early years of the 17th century, and chiefly from Ayrshire and the SW Scottish hinterland. The areas concerned in Co.Down were likewise planted from the same parts of Scotland and at the same period; and they are furthest removed from Donaghadee (Montgomery's port) and Bangor (Hamilton's port) through which the Scots settlers entered and through which contact with Scotland was maintained.

The characteristic forms for these areas are:

ə ˈbin	din	skil
ˈɛ:fɪərˈnin	gid	sin

The absence of a[w]-glide with preceding velars is a good reason for dismissing any direct connection with NE Scots (Buchan) which has [gwid], [skwil] .

Evidence of the existence of [i]*-forms similar to those of SI has (as stated above) recently been discovered by the LSS on the border between Lanark and Dumfries.*[30] *The fact that this pocket has been found in a rather remote area would argue once again in favour of the archaic nature of this reflex which may have been normal 17th century SW Scots.*

(ii) */ɨ / occurs in the N Ards, on the fringes of the UAI boundary W of Strangford Lough and throughout most of Co.Antrim. Its similarity to current SW Scots and its distribution close to the ports of entry through which contact was kept with Scotland, would suggest that this was an innovation which came in from SW*

Scotland some time after the original settlement but never reached the perimeter of the Scots-settled areas.

Typical forms with [ɨ] are:

əˈbɨn	dɨn	skɨl
ˈɛ:fɪərˈnɨn	gɨd	sɨn

(iii) /e / occurs in N Antrim and the adjacent parts of NE Derry. This seems to represent a development of /ɨ / for in the same dialects we find /e / as the vowel in the morpheme -ing, e.g., fishing [ˈfɛʃen] . Sometimes /e / is realized as [eə]. Characteristic forms from these areas are:

əˈbe·n	de·n	ske·l
ˈɛ:fɪərˈne·n		ʃe·n

(iv) /ü / occurs in alternation with /i/ and /ɨ/ in a few localities in the Mid Ards and W of Strangford Lough. These forms may represent a hyperurbanism on the part of a few dialect speakers who, knowing that dialectal [nin] or [nɨn] corresponds to standard [nün] by analogy make [əˈbün] to correspond with [əˈbin] or [əˈbɨn].

(v) /æ / or its equivalent occurs sporadically for certain items in the list throughout the SI areas, but at least with one speaker (D4) it is the normal reflex in the whole of List 2, thus being identical with his reflex for ME ɪ which is also /æ /.

The SI dialect spoken by D4 illustrates clearly the kind of substitution that takes place among bilingual speakers, leading to the loss of a characteristic dialect vowel, viz./ɪ̈ /. Dialect speakers hear educated SE speakers consistently using [ɪ̈] and never [æ̈] as a reflex of ME **i**, *whereas they themselves use [æ̈] and never [ɪ̈] in the same circumstances in their "broad" version of SE. This may lead to the idea that [ɪ̈] versus [æ̈] is a class dialect marker and that these two vowels are functionally equivalent, which in turn leads to the loss of distinction within the dialect itself between [ɪ̈] and [æ̈] and, in effect, to the substitution of [æ̈] for [ɪ̈] in many instances.*

This result of bilingualism had already made itself felt in MSc, especially in certain words such as foot pronounced - as shown by the poets' rhymes - [fæ̈t] *(or something like it), alongside the traditional* [fɪ̈t] *etc.*

Characteristic of D4's forms are:

a ˈbæ̈n dæ̈n skæ̈l

ˈɛ:fʀərˈnæ̈n gæ̈d sæ̈n

Almost everywhere, of course, before / **v**/ *and in open syllables the reflex is /* **e**/*:*

me:v *move* **de:** *do* **ʃe:** *shoe* **te:** *to, too*

although do is [di:] *in many parts of the Laggan. At the same time* [di:] *die, the usual SI form, is replaced in the Laggan for the most part by SI urban* [dəi] *, thus avoiding a homonymic clash.*

In closed syllables before /r / the same reflex, / e/ occurs although frequently the actual sound realized is retracted to [ë:] *which may thus function as an allophone of* [ï] . *Examples occur in:*

bë:rd	*board*	flë:r	*floor*
më:rz	*moors*	pë:r	*poor*

Although an outsider in this List, door was included immediately following floor, because although the traditional SI pronunciation [dɔ:r] *is in contrast with* [flɛ:r] , [fle:r], [flë:r] , [fli:r], *etc., sometimes as a result of semantic association the vowels in these words are assimilated, e.g., in D4's* [fle:r] *and* [de:r] *and in the widespread Ulster reflexes of early SE forms:* [flø:r] *and* [dø:r] .

Apart from the general developments of this vowel as described above there were special, complicated changes when it recurred before a velar consonant. The final stages of these processes are evident in the various SI reflexes of the types / jü / or / jʌ / in words (including #91 through #96) such as:

enough: ə ˈn̓ʌx/ ə ˈnʌx/ ənÿ

left-handed: ˈfl̓ʌge/ ˈfjʌge/ ˈjʌge, *etc.,*

escarpment: hjʌx/ çʌx

hook: hjük/ hjʌk/ çʌk

nook: n̓ük/ n̓ʌk

plough: pl̓ÿ:/ pjÿ:

sheugh: sʃjʌx/ sʃʌx

tough: tʃʌx/ tsʃʌx/ tʌx

The forms dzʃük *(dodge) and* dʃük/ dzʃü k/ dʃʌk/ dzʃʌk *(duck n.) seem to fit in with this series.*

It will be noted that the yod frequently coalesces with the preceding consonant to produce a palatalized version, and that occasionally this may disappear in the case of [l′] *leaving a simple yod, or may pass on to an affricate, or the yod may disappear (as with* tough, enough*), perhaps by analogy with SE/* t/ *and /*n*/. The yod fronts* [ü] *to* [ÿ] *in open syllables.*

In all the SI dialects [ˈbite] behove to *has the archaic/*i*/ realized in a clipped form, and singular* tooth *as well as plural* teeth *has /*i*/, perhaps by analogy with the plural, which would also explain sporadic* [gis] *(D15) for* goose *in areas where* [gïs] *would be expected.*

*Summing up List 2, then, we have archaism /*i*/, innovations /*ï*/ and /*e*/, bilinguals' substitution /*ë*/ all from ESc/MSc* ū *(ME* o̅ *). In addition we have conditional developments such as /*e*/ before /*v*/ and in open syllables, and the same vowel or a retracted version* [ë] *before /*r*/. The /*i*/ in* behove *and* tooth *is anomalous or analagous. A yod followed by /*ü*/ or /*ʌ*/ has developed before velars.*

List 3

The typical broad SI vowel [ë] *(or in Donegal the less open* [ɛ̈] *) occurs in these words from different*

ME sources and is in contrast with several UAI reflexes as follows:

[əi] ## 97-100

[ø] or [ö] ## 101-113

[ɨ] ## 114-117 (*further contrast SI* / g /, *UAI* / dz /)

[ɛ] ## 120-121

Items ## 97, 98 and 100 tend to show the typical SW Scots loss of final [d] *in the* [-nd] *cluster.*

The SI areas have preserved this Scots feature well but substandard UAI [ʌ] *crops up occasionally in* bull.

List 4

The SI vowel [ɛ] *is characteristic of all the words in this list and corresponds to UAI* [a] *or* [ɑ] *in most cases but to* [e] *in ##129, 131, 142, 149; to* [ɒ] *or* [ɔ] *in ## 140, 156, 175; to* [ɨ] *in ## 177, 178; to* [i] *or* [əi] *in ## 179, 180.*

The medial consonant of # 128 and # 144a is [ð] *in SI, in contrast with UAI* [d], *substandard* [ɒ] ; *in #153, the* [r] *tends to drop out, being "implied" by the interdental* [ɪ] ; *in ##157, 160, 162, the Laggan dialect of E Donegal has an intrusive schwa or else* [ɱ], *thus* [ˈɛ:rəm] , [ˈfɛ:rəm] , [ˈhɛ:rəm] , *or* [ˈɛ:rɱ] *etc. In Gaelic-speaking areas, or those till recently Gaelic-speaking, these items have* [ʀ] *(with a single flap):* [ˈɛ:ʀəm] *etc.; in #159 and #161, palatalized velars,*

[k̟] , [g̟] , occur for the most part in Donegal; #163 frequently ends with [-ɪs̟t]. #164 contrasts with UAI dialect [ˈmɑːrlez] . #166 generally has terminal morpheme /-t/. #169 mostly has loss of the first [r] by dissimilation.

Some speakers have a distinct schwa-glide between [ɛ] and a following consonant, thus D12, D13, D14, D33 and D39 all have [grɛəs] for grass.

The /ɛ/ which is mostly near cardinal is realized as a closer vowel [ɛ̝] with D20 and as an opener one [ɛ̞] with D24, the latter being probably due to the influence of Belfast speech.

The word farm crops up sporadically as [fɔːrm] instead of, or in competition with, the usual SI [fɛːrm].[31]

List 5

Here we have words with ME/MSc ū which > generally [üː] in open syllables, in hiatus, and before voiced fricatives.

Following a yod or a palatalized consonant, a fronted variant, [ÿː] , occurs.

Alternating with [üː] in closed syllables, or, generally, in situations other than those defined above is a short, more open variant, [ü] , and before [r] in all positions a long, even opener allophone, [øː] . Morphological additions to a word form do not alter this patterning, thus [ˈsmüːðər] < [smüːð] smooth; but #203 and

#204 are frequently [ˈsʉ̈ðər] and [ˈpʉ̈ðər] as they are solid morphemes.

The SI vowels are in contrast for the most part with UAI/əü / but for ## 202, 203, 208, 212, 213, 215, 237, 241, 260 with UAI /o/, and for #221, 222, 223, 236, 245, 255, 256, 258 with UAI /ʌ /.

List 6

ME/MSc ĭ following w generally gives [ʌ] or its rounded equivalent [ö] in SI, as in Scots, over against UAI [ĭ] , [ë] , [ë] , etc. In the case of twenty we must suppose a preliminary raising of e to i to explain the form [ˈtwʌnte] . Some of the SI dialects have [ʌ] in words with initial wr in which the w is now silent. Hence the change i > [ʌ] must antedate the loss of the initial [w] . In Donegal [röst] (wrist) is particularly common, as is [ˈrʌŋkɬ] elsewhere.

This change may represent the end result of the stages [ɪ] > [ʏ] > [ʊ] > [ʌ]. As a dialect marker it is not too effective in Donegal, where the local Gaelic seems often to have a similar conditional change, e.g., bfhuil is not [wĭl] but [wöl] in many places.

The words any and many, or rather Sc. ony and mony have the forms [ˈɔːne] and [ˈmʌne] in SI, the stressed vowel of the latter having probably developed from [ɔ] through [ʊ] to [ʌ] .

Items #294 through #299 represent words in which

ME/MSc ŭ *after lengthening gives UAI* [əü] *(or* [o:] *in the word* mourn*) but SI* [ʌ] .

List 7

Items #306 through #335 exemplify the characteristic Sc change by which ME o > a *before or after labials. This change, which does not affect UAI, is well represented in SI, not only in words which form part of the general vocabulary, such as:*

ᴅʀɑ:p *drop* ˈpɑ:rɪtʃ *porridge*

but also in dialect words, such as:

kɑ:p *caup* slɑ:p *an opening into a field*

In items #336 through #345 SI, like Sc, has kept unrounded / ɑ */ in contrast with UAI/* ɔ */ before the velar nasal /* ŋ */. One general exception in SI is #341 which is* [sᴛʀɔ:ŋ] *and not* [sᴛʀɑ:ŋ] . *The variant* [ᴍɛ:ŋ] *often occurs for #342 in SI.*

The ME sequence wĕ *> SI /*wa */, as in Sc, in #346 through #358, though we must assume* quit *to have gone through the stage /* kwɛt */ before* [kwɑ:t] . *UAI is not affected by this change.*

List 8

Items #362 through #370 bring out the contrast between the reflexes of ME- al *which gives UAI* [ɔ:l] *over against SI* [ɔ:] , *with ostensibly more archaic variants such as the Laggan* [a:] *or the widespread*

NE Ulster [ɑ:] *and* [ɑw], *all with loss of* -l . *Some speakers who use* [ɑw] *have* [ɔ:] *as a special development after* /w / *and* /ʍ/ *in words like:*

wɔ: *wall* ə ˈwɔ: *away* twɔ: *two*

wɔ:r *where* ʍɔ: *who*

In #371 to #379, ME -al + *Consonant gives mostly SI* [ɑ:] *which in some of the dialects is in contrast with a shorter vowel* [ɑ] *or fronter vowel* [a] *in pairs such as:*

bɑ:k *balk* *versus* bɑk/bak *back*

although in the Laggan occasionally this opposition may be marked mainly by a contrast in the consonants:

baq *balk* *versus* bak' *back*

List 9

These are words in which Sc and SI have /i/ *in contrast with UAI* /e/ ,/ɛ/ , /əi/ ,/ɨ / . *The Sc and SI shortening of this originally long vowel is conditioned by the phonetic surroundings,* [i] *being now the main member, and the long variant* [i:] , *being preserved only in stressed final open syllables, in hiatus, before voiced fricatives and before* /r/. *Compare* [dif] *deaf with* [di:v] *deafen.*

Occasionally in words which may have a strong emotional connotation we find that the long quantity has been retained, perhaps for affective reasons, in spite of the following unvoiced plosives, e.g.:

ˈkri:pe *a type of low stool*

ki:k *peep*

The long vowel has also been retained as a morphological marker or oristic signal which distinguishes pairs such as:

di:d *died* <u>*versus*</u> **did** *dead, deed*

<u>*List 10*</u>

The older forms of these words (##451-483) had ā *as stressed vowel, down to ME/MSc. The UAI reflex is* /o/ *or* /ɔ/ *over against the SI/e/ (or* /ɛ/ *before* /r/ *). In some versions of SI a schwa-glide develops before consonants as in*

heəm *home* steən *stone*

shortening or clipping of [e:] *leads to* [ɪ] *in morphologically fused forms such as*

ˈhɪte < ˈhe: ˌte: *have to*

ˈdɪne < ˈde: ˌne: *do not*

ˈnɪθən < ˈne ˌθɪŋ *nothing*

Although <u>*own*</u> *(adj.) is* [e:n] *, the numeral* <u>*one*</u> *(<OE* ān*) is represented by* [e:n] *only in parts of Donegal. The usual SI version elsewhere is* [jɛ̈n] *or* [jään] *which is in contrast with UAI dialectal* [wa:n] .[32]

Before /r/ *the open vowel* /ɛ/ *occurs to the exclusion of* /e/ *:*

mɛ:r *more* sɛ:r *sore*

The form [sTRe:] *for* <u>*straw*</u> *seems to point back to*

an earlier strā *; a - probably archaic - form* [STRɑ:] *actually occurs in some SI areas. The contrasting UAI dialect form is* [STRO:] *, probably from older N or W Midland English.*[33]

List 11

These words show typically [o:] *in certain dialectal words and in a few words with UAI* /ɔ/, *especially before* /r/.

List 12

Here are listed a number of words (##524-547) that had one of the diphthongs ei *or* ɑi *in ME/MSc, and that still have a diphthong,* /əi/, *in SI in contrast with* /e/ *in UAI. This narrow diphthong is always found to be in significant contrast with a broader diphthong of the type* [ɑe] ,[ɑɪ] ,[ɑi] , [ai] , *etc., in another range of words (##549-559).*

This opposition does not belong to the UAI dialects proper, which usually have only one diphthong, of the type [əi] , [ɛi] ,[æi] , *etc. SIU and some versions of UAI on the fringe of the SI districts, however, have a phonemically contrastive pair of diphthongs identical with the SI pair but mostly with a different incidence (##560-565), thus:*

SI	əi	*always*	ɑe	*yes*
non- SI	əi	*eye*	ɑe	*I*

In SI eye *is* [i:] *and* I *is usually* [ɑ:]

In SI and the other dialects which have two diphthongs, the phonetic environment may determine the choice of variant, final voiced fricatives calling for a preceding /ɑe/, *thus (##566-569):*

fəif	*fife*	fɑev	*five*
prəis	*price*	prɑez	*prize*

List 13

Items ##570-577 represent OE forms in -ald. *In these SI has the reflex* [-əül] *(with loss of* -d*) consistently, although* [-ɑ:l] *crops up occasionally in* old *and* cold. *Apart from the forms with* /ɑ/ , *these items do not give a sharp contrast with UAI which may have* / o / *but can also have a substandard* /əü/ , *perhaps from Elizabethan or Jacobean English developments.*

An /əü/ *diphthong is characteristic of SI in ##578-611 omitting #594). The post-vocalic* l *may be lost in ##578, 579, 581, 582, 593. It is always missing in #590, a word which is very common in place-names and not equated with the SE word* knoll.[34] *The usual UAI equivalent of these items has* /o/.

Items ##596-611 have typically /əü/ *in SI but* /o/, /ü/, /ɔ/, *etc., in UAI, if parallel forms exist.*

List 14

Peculiarities in the SI verb system include the special morphological fusions of verb plus, e.g., the enclitic negative particle /-ne/, *often with altered base vowel:*

he: + -ne:	>	ˈhɪne	*haven't*
he: + -z	>	hɪz	*has*
he: + -z +-ne:	>	ˈhɪzne	*hasn't*
he: + te:	>	ˈhɪte	*has to*
he: + -n	>	ə ˈhɪn	*had (pp)*
de: + ët	>	dɪt	*do it*
ma:n + ne:	>	ˈma:ne	*mustn't*
ka:n + ne:	>	ˈka:ne	*can't*

These are in contrast with UAI forms similar to those of **SE.**

The forms of some strong verbs have special SI developments:

give	gi: / gin
take	ta:k / te:n
begin	be ˈgën / be ˈgü:d *(almost obsolete)*

The idiomatic is/are there? was/were there? *in SI typically* ër ðe: ? *and* wʌr ðe: ?

LEXICAL QUESTIONNAIRE

INSECTS

1 ANT
2 EARWIG
3 FLEA
4 FLY
5 BEETLE
6 CENTIPEDE
7 DADDY-LONG-LEGS
8 HORSE-FLY
9 LOUSE
10 SPIDER
11 WOODLOUSE
12 WILD BEES' NEST
13 ATTERCAP

WILD ANIMALS

14 SHREW MOUSE
15 MOUSE
16 BADGER
17 HEDGEHOG
18 STOAT
19 RABBIT
20 FOX
21 FROG
22 NEWT
23 WORM
24 MINNOW
25 TROUT
26 GROPE
27 LEISTER
28 POACH(ER)
29 SALMON LEAP

BIRDS

30 CHAFFINCH
31 JACKDAW
32 SEAGULL
33 SPARROW
34 YELLOW-HAMMER
35 CROW
36 CURLEW
37 LAPWING
38 HAWK
39 WREN
40 HERON
41 MAGPIE
42 OWL
43 PARTRIDGE
44 PHEASANT
45 BAT
46 BLIND
47 NESTLING
48 ROB (a nest)
49 WHISTLE

PLANTS

50 FIR CONE
51 BILBERRY
52 VETCHES
53 HAW
54 ROSEHIP
55 POISONOUS
56 BRACKEN
57 TOADSTOOL
58 CHARLOCK
59 NUTS
60 DOCK
61 FOXGLOVE
62 RAGWART
63 SORREL
64 THISTLE
65 GORSE
66 ELDER
67 WILLOW
68 APPLE
69 SCOBE
70 PEAR

PLANTS (Continued)

71 BRANCH
72 ROOT
73 CLIMB
74 SPEEL
75 ROWAN
76 LITH

FARM

77 FARM(ER)
78 YARD
79 TOWN
80 HOME
81 AWAY
82 HOUSE(S)
83 DOOR
84 OPEN
85 LATCH
86 BOLT
87 KNOB
88 BRASS
89 WINDOW
90 PANE
91 GLASS
92 CATCH
93 FLOOR
94 GABLE
95 WALL
96 PLASTER
97 LADDER
98 ROOF
99 RIDGE
100 SLATE
101 GUTTER
102 SCOBE (thatch)
102 SHARPEN
104 FIRE
105 BLAZE
106 POKER
107 TONGS
108 SHOVEL
109 KINDLING
110 EMBERS
111 CINDERS
112 ASHES
113 ASHIPET
114 COLDRIFE
115 STOOR
116 RUBBISH
117 SMOKE
118 CHAIR
119 COUCH
120 CRADLE
121 UPSTAIRS
122 QUILT
123 BOLSTER
124 LANE
125 VENNEL
126 STREET
127 MEAL-BIN
128 CHEST
129 HASP
130 DOG
131 CAT
132 KITTEN
133 BYRE
134 PIGSTY
135 HENHOUSE
136 STACK-YARD
137 BUILD
138 PROP
139 STALE
140 PRIME
141 FLIT
142 RUSHES
143 UP/DOWN to Belfast
144 UP/DOWN to Dublin
145 SHED
146 SHELTER

POULTRY

147 BROODY HEN
148 NARROW
149 BROOD
150 PULLET
151 GIZZARD
152 CROP
153 MOULT
154 DUCK
155 GOOSE
156 GANDER
157 BEAK
158 WATTLES
159 WHAMMLE
160 SUCK (eggs)

BIBL. UNIV. EDINBURGH

NUMERALS

161 DOZEN
162 ONE
163 TWO
164 WHO
165 WHERE
166 TWO POUNDS (stg.)
167 TWO POUNDS (wt.)
168 BOTH
169 THREE
170 FOUR
171 FIVE
172 SEVEN
173 EIGHT
174 ELEVEN
175 TWELVE
176 TWENTY
177 HUNDRED
178a THOUSAND
179 MILLION
180 ENOUGH
181 TOO (MUCH)
182 NO MORE
183 MOST(LY)
184 NONE (AT ALL)
185 WHEEN
186 WHOLE
187 LOCK
188 OFTEN
189 MANY
190 ANY
191 (AN)OTHER
192 ALL

FIELDS

193 FIELD
194 BOUNDARY
195 STONE
196 STONE DYKE
197 SHEUGH
198 SLAP
199 BUNKER
200 BROO
201 TO TRIM HEDGE
202 MUD
203 CLAY
204 RIVER
205 RIVER BANK
206 BRIDGE
207 FORD
208 HILLSIDE
209 PATH
210 MOOR
211 KNOLL
212 ROLL
213 POLE

FARM ANIMALS

214 CATTLE
215 COW
216 COWS
217 BULL
218 HEIFER
219 STIRK
220 MINCHER
221 HORNLESS
222 UDDER
223 MILKINGSTOOL
224 CREAM
225 CURDS
226 WHEY
227 STRIPPING
228 BEESTINGS
229 COW-CALL
230 QUIET(EN)
231 CALF-CALL
232 BUTT
233 MOO
234 BELLOW
235 BOORAGH
236 LOOSEN
237 LOOSE
238 HALTER
239 COWMAN
240 GROOP
241 DUNG
242 DUNG FORK
243 MANURE HEAP
244 CHEWING CUD
245 SOW (n.)
246 SMALLEST PIG
247 TROUGH
248 SNOUT
249 EWE
250 RAM
251 DEAL(ER)
252 SOLD

THE HORSE

253 STALLION
254 MARE
255 COLT
256 PONY
257 FODDER
258 NEIGH
259 BRAY
260 HARNESS
261 STRADDLE
262 SADDLE
263 REINS
264 WHIP
265 COMB
266 CART
267 COWP
268 CHOCK
269 SMITHY
270 GAZEN
271 WHEEL-BARROW
272 SHIRE (water)
273 QUENCH (thirst)

PLOUGHING

274 PLOUGH
275 COULTER
276 MOULD-BOARD
277 FURROW
278 RIDGE
279 TOP STRIP
280 BOTTOM STRIP
281 FURROW HORSE
282 LAND HORSE
283 TURN LEFT!
284 TURN RIGHT!
285 TURN ROUND!
286 STOP!
287 GO ON!
288 BACK!
289 SOW (Vb.)
290 SCARECROW
291 CROP
292 GROW
293 HARVEST
294 SUMMER
295 WINTER
296 THAW
297 COLD
298 BOLD
299 GOLD
300 HOLD
301 OLD
302 SOLD
303 TOLD
304 FOLD
305 WILDERNESS
306 SHELTER FROM RAI
307 SMUR
308 SUDDEN FRIGHT
309 ICICLE
310 WIND (n.)
311 COLDRIFE
312 TWILIGHT

HAY

313 HAY
314 FIELD
315 FLAT
316 LOW
317 HOOK
318 NOOK
319 STEAL
320 SCYTHE
321 HANDLE
322 SWATH
323 WINDROW
324 AFTER
325 AFTERMATH
326 COLE
327 RICK
328 ROUND STACK
329 SQUARE STACK
330 STACK YARD
331 PITCH FORK
332 SHAFT
333 GRASS
334 MEADOW
335 MOW
336 BOTTLE

CORN

337 CORN
338 FIRST SHOOTS
339 ABRAIRD
340 SHEAF
341 LAST SHEAF
342 WITCH
343 CELEBRATION
344 HARVEST HOME
345 STUBBLE
346 CORNSTACK
347 STRAW
348 STRAW ROPE
349 ROPE-TWISTER
350 FLAIL-JOINT
351 CHAFF
352 POLE
353 SUPERSTITION
354 SLOMED

FAMILY

355 CHILD(REN)
356 BOY
357 GIRL
358 TWINS
359 SCHOOL
360 MASTER
361 PLAY TRUANT
362 TAWSE
363 SEE-SAW
364 SOMERSAULT
365 YOUNG MAN
366 YOUNG WOMAN
367 MARRIED ON
368 SWITHER
369 TAE HER OWN NAME
370 WIDOW
371 NAE FREEN
372 FATHER
373 MOTHER
374 BROTHER
375 SISTER
376 SON
377 SUN
378 DAUGHTER
379 BROKEN PIECES OF CHINA
380 EASTER EGGS
381 LEAD PENCIL

BODY etc

382 HEAD
383 BIRSE
384 PULL(HAIR)
385 FOOT
386 SPLAY-FOOTED
387 TOE
388 CALF
389 THIGH
390 EYE(S)
391 BLIND
392 FIND
393 SQUINT
394 PEEP
395 LASH
396 BROW
397 EAR
398 DEAF
399 DEAVE
400 HEAR YOUR EARS
401 MOUTH
402 CORNERS
403 TOOTH (pl.)
404 GUMS
405 TOOTHACHE
406 ARM
407 SHOULDER
408 ARMPIT
409 WRIST
410 HAND
411 TWO HANDS FULL
412 LEFT-HANDED
413 DEVIL
414 FIST
415 FINGER STALL
416 PALM
417 THUMB
418 FINGER
419 RAGNAIL
420 BLOOD
421 BONE
422 SHOES
423 BOOTS
424 BRACES
425 THONGS
426 COUGH

BODY (Continued)

427 YAWN
428 SWEAT
429 SICK
430 VOMIT
431 A BOIL
432 FESTER
433 A COLD ON ME
434 ANKLE
435 SCAR
436 WRINKLE
437 SPLINTER
438 PRICK
439 DWALM
440 STAMMER
441 YAWN

FOOD

442 BREAD
443 BAP
444 BARN BRACK
445 PORRIDGE
446 BOIL POINT
447 SOWANS
448 EASTER EGGS
449 POTATOES
450 TEEM
451 SMALL POTATOES
452 DISCARD SEED
453 WALE
454 CLAMP
455 POTATO BREAD
456 FARL
457 CABBAGE
458 MEAL A CRUSHIE
459 CHAMP
460 CHIVES
461 SCALLIONS
462 HUM (food for baby)
463 DINNER (TIME)
464 HUNGRY
465 STARVING
466 TOUGH
467 WHISKEY
468 DROUGHT
469 SALT
470 SCALD
471 TEA
472 MESKIN
473 WEIGH
474 SPREAD
475 BOWL
476 FOG (FEED)
477 GORB

ABUSIVE WORDS

478 ATTERCAP
479 BALLION
480 BAGHAL
481 GAAM
482 GAAM(F)EREL
483 GOMIE
484 HURCHIN
485 SPULPEN
486 ASHIPET
487 TORY-ROGUE
488 COLDRIFE CRATUR
489 TAAPIE
490 GULPIN
491 GLYPE
492 LIG
493 SLOOTER
494 AMADAN
495 FOOTY
496 FOOZHONLESS
497 THRAWN
498 SNOOL

GAELIC WORDS ?

499	BARN BRACK	512	LATRACHAN	525	BOCAN/BOHAN
500	GEELOG	513	ABLAGH	526	ARCAN
501	MOILY	514	FEAR GORTACH	527	BARDUGH
502	DROILY	515	BIOLAR	528	CAILLEACH
503	KITTAGH	516	BEN-SHEE	529	BROGHAN
504	GREESHA	517	MESKIN	530	BROCK
505	SOWENS	518	BAGHAL	531	CHAY!
506	JELGER	519	CLAABER	532	CLACHAN
507	SPULPIN	520	BONNY CLAABER	533	CLIB
508	GATHA	521	BRISHNEY	534	LOY
509	BARNYAGH	522	CASHAN	535	AILIAN (brood)
510	BOURAGH	523	GULPIN	536	AMSHA (ill-luck)
511	PIG CRAW	524	AMADAN	527	DUL (snare)

PHONOLOGICAL QUESTIONNAIRE

List 1

1 BOUGHT
2 BRIGHT
3 BROUGHT
4 COUGH
5 DAUGHTER
6 DOUGH
7 DRAUGHT
8 EIGHT
9 ENOUGH
10 FIGHT
11 FOUGHT
12 HEIGHT
13 HIGH
14 LAUGH
15 LIGHT
16 MIGHT
17 NEIGH
18 NIGHT
19 OUGHT (pron.)
20 RIGHT
21 ROUGH
22 SIGH
23 SIGHT
24 SOUGH
25 STRAIGHT
25a THOUGHT
26 TIGHT
27 TOUGH
28 TROUGH
29 WEIGHT
30 WRIGHT
31 WROUGHT
32 baghle
33 brugh
34 dight
35 dreegh
36 forfoghen
37 greeshagh
38 hough
39 laghter
40 laigh
41 paghle
42 pegh
42a scraigh
43 sheugh
44 spleughan
45 spraghle
46 styaghie
47 weght

List 2

48 ABOVE
49 AFTERNOON
50 BEHOVE
51 BLOOD
52 BOARD
53 BOOT
54 BROTHER
55 cloot
56 COOL
57 CUD
58 DONE
59 FLOOR
60 (DOOR)
61 FOOL
62 FOOT
63 GOOD
64 GOOSE
65 groop
66 GUM
67 HOOD
68 JUST (adv.)
69 looſ
70 MOON
71 MOORS
72 MOTHER
73 MOVE
74 OTHER
75 POOR
76 PUT
77 ROOD
78 ROOST
79 ROOTS
80 SCHOOL
81 SHOE
81a SHOE (horse)
82 *SHOES
83 SHOOT
84 SOON
85 SOOT
86 SPOON
87 STOOL
88 TO
89 TOO
90 TOOTH
91 ENOUGH
92 HOOK
92a ſluuggy
93 NOOK
94 PLOUGH
95 sheugh
96 TOUGH

List 3

97 BEHIND
98 BLIND
99 CLIMB
100 FIND
101 BULL
102 DOZEN
103 DUN (colour)
104 NUT
105 SON
106 STUBBLE
107 SUMMER
108 SUN
109 TUP (ram)
110 ASUNDER
111 TRUNDLE
112 RUN
113 *SUCH a
114 BRIDGE
115 BUILD
116 RIDGE
117 RIDGE TILES
118 trig (neat)
119 CHEST
120 RED
121 TOGETHER
122 TREMBLE
123 VETCH

List 4

124 AFTER
125 AFTERGRASS
126 APPLE
127 AXLE
128 BLADDER
129 BLADE
130 BRASS
131 CRADLE
132 FAMILY
133 FATHER
134 FLAT
135 GANDER
136 GATHER
137 GLAD
138 GLASS
139 GRASS
140 HALTER
141 HAMMER
142 HAMES
143 HASP
144 JACKDAW
144a LADDER
145 MAGPIE
146 MANNER
147 MASTER
148 MATTER
149 PANE
150 PLASTER
151 RATHER
152 SACK
153 SATURDAY
154 SHAFT
155 TRAVEL
156 WASH
157 ARM
158 CARRY

List 4 (Continued)

159 CART
160 FARM
161 GARDEN
162 HARM
163 HARVEST
164 MARBLES
165 MARCH (DYKE)
166 *MARRIED TO
167 NARROW
168 PART
169 PARTRIDGE
170 SHARP
171 STARVING
172 TART (adj.)
173 YARD
174 BRANCH
175 HAUNCH
176 STANCHION
177 DINNER
178 KINDLING
179 EITHER
180 NEITHER

List 5

181 ALLOW
182 BOW (v.)
183 BROW
184 (RIVERBANK)
185 COW
186 *COWS
187 FLOUR
188 FLOWER
189 HOUR
190 HOW
191 NOW
192 POWER
193 SHOWER
194 SOUR
195 SOW (n.)
196 THOUSAND
197 BLUE
198 LUKEWARM
199 PLOUGH
200 FULL
201 PULL
202 COULTER
203 SHOULDER
204 (POWDER)
205 ABOUT
206 ACCOUNT
207 BROWN
208 COARSE
209 COUNCIL
210 COUNT
211 COUNTY
212 COURSE
213 COURT
214 CROWN
215 DISCOURSE
216 DOUBT
217 DOWN
218 DROUGHT
219 DROWN
220 drook

List 5 (Continued)

221 DUCK [1] (dodge)
222 DUCK [2] (drench)
223 DUCK (n.)
224 foisonless
225 foutre
226 GOWN
227 HOUSE
228 *HOUSES
229 LOUD
230 LOUSE
231 MOUSE
232 MOUTH
233 OUR (stressed)
234 OUR (weak)
234a OUT
235 OWL
236 PLUM
237 POACHER
238 POISON
239 POUCH
241 POUR
242 POWDER
243 PROUD
244 ROUND
245 RUST
246 SCOWL
247 SHROUD
248 SNOUT
249 SOUND (n.)
249a SORREL
250 SOUTH
251 SPOUT
252 SPROUT
253 stoon
254 STOUT
255 SUCK
256 SUPPLE
257 TOWN
258 THUMB
259 TROUT
260 GOLD

List 6

261 QUILT
262 SWITCH
263 SWITHER
264 TWENTY
265 TWINS
266 TWISTER
267 WHIN
268 WHIP
269 WHISKEY
270 WHISKERS
271 WHISPER
272 WHISTLE
273 WHITLOW
274 WHITTLE
275 whittret (stoat)
276 WILDERNESS
277 WILL
278 WIND
279 WINDOW
280 WINNOW

List 6 (Continued)

281 WINTER
282 WISH
283 WISP
284 WIT
285 WITCH
286 WITHER
287 WITHY
288 WIZARD
289 WRINKLE
290 WRIST
291 MANY
292 (ANY)
293 burn (stream)
294 FOUND
295 GROUND
296 MOUNTAIN
297 MOURN
298 POUND (£)
299 POUND (lb.)
299a POUND (animal)
300 BRITTLE
301 chullers
302 CINDERS
303 lum
304 STEADY
305 STITHY

List 7

306 attercap
307 caup
308 CHOP
309 CROP (harvest)
310 CROP (of bird)
311 DROP
312 HOP
313 LOPSIDED
314 PROP
315 SHOP
316 slap
317 SOB
318 STOP
319 TOP
320 OPEN
321 BOB
322 HOB
323 HOBBLE
324 JOB
325 KNOB
326 LOBSTER
327 LOFT
328 OFF
329 OFTEN
330 SOFT
331 TOM
332 BOTTLE (hay, etc.)
333 FOND
334 MUST
335 PORRIDGE
336 ALONG
337 AMONG

List 7 (Continued)

338 BELONG
339 LONG
340 SONG
341 STRONG
342 THONGS
343 THRONG
344 TONGS
345 WRONG
346 QUIT
347 SWELL
348 TWELVE
349 WEATHER
350 WEB
351 WEDDING
352 WELL (n.)
353 WET (adj.)
354 (WETTING)
355 WHELM
356 WHELP
357 WREN
358 WRESTLE
359 WADE
360 wale
361 RUSHES

List 8

362 *ALL
363 AT ALL
364 BALL
365 CALL
366 FALL
367 HALL
368 miscall
369 SMALL
370 WALL
371 BALK
372 BEHOLDEN
373 dwalm
374 SALT
375 SCALD
376 scaldy
377 STALK
378 TALK
379 WALK
380 BLOW
381 CROW (n.)
382 CROW (v.)
383 MOW
384 ROW (series)
385 SNOW
386 SOW (v.)
387 taws
388 thrawen
389 thraw hook
390 AWAY
391 TWO
392 WHERE
393 WHO
394 CLAW
395 DRAW
396 HAW
397 HAWK
398 JACKDAW
399 JAW
400 LAW
401 SAW (v.)
402 SAW (n.)
403 BARROW
403a logg
403b moghy
404 TASSLE

List 9

405 BEESTINGS
406 BLAZE
407 BREAST
408 BRIAR
409 creepie
410 DEVIL
411 DIE
412 DRIP
413 EYE
414 *EYES
415 FIELD
416 FLY (n.)
417 FLY (v.)
418 FRIEND
419 greet (cry)
420 HIGH
421 keek
422 KING
423 LIE (n.)
424 LIE (v.)
425 LIVE
426 MEADOW
427 reek
428 SICK
429 speel
430 STREET (farmyard)
431 SWIM
432 THREAD
433 WET (v.)
434 WIDOW
435 BREAD
436 DEAD
437 (DIED)
438 DEAF
439 *DEAFEN
440 freet
441 HEAD
442 LEAD (n.)
443 MARE
444 nieve
445 PEAR
446 PHEASANT
447 SPREAD
448 SWEAR
449 WEAR
450 WELL (adv.)

List 10

451 ALONE
452 blate (bashful)
453 BONE
454 BOTH
455 blae
456 brae
457 BROAD
458 CLOTH
459 *CLOTHES
460 COMB
461 FROM
462 GABLE
463 graip
464 HOME
465 KALE
466 LOAD
467 LOAN
468 MORE
469 MOST(LY)
470 NO (adj.)

List 10 (Continued)

471 NONE
472 NOTHING
473 ONE
474 OWN (adj.)
475 ROPE
476 SLOE
477 SO
478 SORE
479 spae
480 STONE
481 STRAW
482 TOE
483 WHOLE
484 BEAK
485 BEAST
486 BEAT
487 CHEAP
488 CHEAT
489 CREAM
490 CREATURE
491 DEATH
492 EASTER
492a ELEVEN
493 FLEA
494 NEAT
495 QUIET
496 REAPER
497 REASON
498 SCHEME
499 SEASON
500 SEAT
500a SEVEN
501 SHEAF
502 SHED
503 SPECIAL
504 TREAT
505 weans
506 hain
507 WEAK

List 11

508 boke
509 bole
510 CORD
511 CORN
512 DOG
513 FROTH
514 glomin
515 gopen
516 hoke
517 lonin
518 MORNING
518a NOT
519 ROCK
519a scobe
520 SHORT
521 SNOKE
522 SORT
523 thole

List 12

524 AY (always)
525 BAY
526 BRAY
527 CLAY
528 gey
529 HAY
530 MAY
531 PAY
532 quey
543 REINS
544 STAY
544a STEEP
545 WAY
546 WEIGH
547 WHEY
548 BOIL (n.)
549 AY (always)
550 AYE (yes)
550a BAY
550b BUY
550c gey
550d GUY
551 MINE (n.)
552 MINE (adj.)
553 MAY (month)
554 MY
555 NEIGHBOUR
556 PAY
557 PIE
558 STAY
559 STY (for pigs)
560 DIE
561 DYE
562 EYE
563 I
564 LIE (fib)
565 LIE (recline)
566 FIFE
567 FIVE
568 PRICE
569 PRIZE

List 13

570 BOLD
571 COLD
572 FOLD
573 HOLD
574 OLD
575 SCOLD
576 SOLD
577 TOLD
578 BOLSTER
579 BOLT
580 BOWL
581 COLT
582 JOLT
590 KNOLL
591 MOULD (BOARD)
592 POLE
593 ROLL
594 SHOULDER
595 SOUL
596 BESTOW

List 13 (Continued)

597	CHEW	606	lown
598	coup	607	lowp
599	EWE	608	OVER
600	FOUR	609	PONY
601	gowl	610	THAW
602	goup	611	TOW
603	GROW	612	moily
604	LOOSE	613	stoigh
605	LOOSEN		

List 14

614	DO	634	MIGHTN'T
615	DON'T	635	SHOULDN'T
616	I DON'T KNOW	636	WON'T
617	DOES	637	WOULDN'T
618	DOESN'T	638	AMN'T
619	DIDN'T	639	ISN'T
620	HE MADE ME DO IT	640	AREN'T
621	HAVE	641	WASN'T
622	HAVEN'T	642	WEREN'T
623	HAVE TO	643	BREAK
624	HAS	644	BROKE
625	HASN'T	645	BROKEN
626	HAS TO	646	GIVE
627	HADN'T	647	GAVE
628	HAD HAD	648	GIVEN
629	BEHOVE TO	649	TAKE
630	DAREN'T	650	TOOK
631	MUSTN'T	651	TAKEN
632	CAN'T	652	BEGAN
633	COULDN'T	653	BEGUN

List 14 (Continued)

654 HIT (pt.)
655 LET (pt.)
656 SAT
657 SET
658 IS/ARE THERE?
659 WAS/WERE THERE?
660 I'll have to go
661 Where are you going to?
662 I'll not be able to get
663 It doesn't matter about it
664 Is there any more bread?
665 He made me cry

Chapter VI

Notes on County Down Tabulations

The following are items or variants that could not be shown in the Tabulations:

#1	D33		bɔ:wət
#3	D12	+	brʌŋ
	D14		"
	D15		"
	D22		"
	D23		"
	D31		"
	D33		brɔ:wət
	D51	+	brön
	D62	+	"
#8	D39	+	e·ət
	D52	+	ɛt (de:klɒk)
	D64		"
#11	D33		fɔ:wət
#18	D16	cp.	jə ˈnæxtəd (*united*)!
	D33	cp.	ˌlas ˈnæxt
#25a	D33		θɔ:wət
#31	D33		rɔ:wət

#39 D17 cp. ˈlæxrər *litter (pigs)!*

D18 ˈraftər

\+ flɔ:k

D20 flɔk

D33 + flɔ·k

D40 flɔ:k

D41 flɔk

D45 + flɔ:k

D46 flɔ̆k

D47 flɔ·k

D50 flɒk

D51 + flɔ·k

D52 flɒk

D53 f lɔk

hats

D55 flɔ̆k

D56 flɔk

D58 flɒk

hɑ̆ts

D59 flɔk

D60 flɔk

D63 flɒk

D64 flɒk

#82 D41 ʃe: / ʃin (*horse*)

#104 D 8 { nɛ̈t (*metal*)
nʌt (*vegetable*)

#110 D13 + ə 'sɛ̈nər

D22 + ə 'sʌnər

D41 ə 'sʌndər

D42 ə 'sɛ̈nəre

D43 ə 'sɛ̈ndər

D44 ə 'sʌnər

D45 ə 'sɛ̈nəre

D46 ə 'sönder

D47 ə 'pɑ:rt

D48 ə 'sɛ̈nəre

D50 ə 'sönder

D60 ə 'söndər

#125 D15 + 'ɛdəsəz

D16 { + 'ɛ:dəsəz
+ 'ɛ:fTər ˌʃɔ:t

D18 + 'ɛ·dəs

D19 + 'ɛ·dəs

D21 + 'ɛdəsəz

D22 + 'ɛdəsəz

D24 + 'ɛdəs

D25 + 'ɛ·dəs

#125	D26	+	ˈɛdəs
	D28	+	ˈɛˑdəs
	D31	+	ˈɛˑdəs
	D32	+	ˈɛdəs
	D34	+	ˈɛˑdəs
	D35	+	ˈɛdəs
	D36	+	ˈɛːdəs
	D37	+	ˈɛdəs NK
	D45	+	ˈɛːfʀər ˌʃɔːt
	D48	+	ˈɑˑfʀər ˌʃɔˑt
	D53	+	ˈɛ̨dəs
	D54	+	ˈɛˑdəs
	D55	+	ˈɛ̨dəs
	D56	+	ˈɛ̨dəs
	D57	+	ˈɛ̨dəs
	D58	+	ˈɛdəs
	D61	+	ˈɛdəs
	D62	+	ˈɛ̨dəz
	D64	+	ˈɛ̨dəs
#200	D45	+	fü: (drunk)
#203	D18	+	ˈʃəüʟdər
	D38	+	"
	D40	+	"
	D42	+	"
	D46	+	"
	D50	+	"
	D56	+	"
	D59	+	"

#249a	D46		ˈsəüərˈdɔ:kɲ
	D49		"
#275	D26	+	ˈʍi:zɲ
	D27	+	ˈwi:zɲ
	D31	+	ˈʍi:zɲ
	D32	+	ˈwi:zɲ
	D33	+	abus. only ˈwi:zɲ
	D35	+	ˈʍi:zɲ
	D37		"
	D39		"
	D41	+	ˈwi:zɲ
	D42		ˈwi:zɲ
	D47		"
	D48		ˈwi:zɲ
	D50		ˈwi:zɲ
	D52	+	ˈʍ/wi:zɲ
	D53	+	ˈʍi:zɲ
	D56	+	ˈwi:zɲ
	D57		"
	D58	+	ˈʍi:zɲ
	D60	+	ˈwi:zɲ
	D63		"
#283	D29	+	ˈwösɪk

#293	D15	+ DRe:n
	D21	*us.* ˈrɛ̈vər
	D29	+ sʃ̈öx
	D32	ˈrɛ̈vər
	D37	+ DRe:n
	D46	sʃ̈öx / DRe:n
	D47	sʃ̈ʌx / DRe:n
	D49	ˈrɪ̈vər
	D51	sTRim
	D52	ˈrɪ̈vər
	D53	sTRim
	D55	"
	D57	"
	D58	"
#301	D42	tsʃ̈oks
	D54	ðə ˈsnɔTər
#303	D13	ˈlo:ge ˌho:l
	D14	ˈK̈o:ge/ ˈlo:ge
	D15	ˈ lo:ge
	D22	ˈlo:ge ˌho:l
#310	D32	+ krɑw
	D51	+ krɔ:

#316	D 1	+	gɛ:p
	D12	+	"
	D13	+	gɛəp
	D14	+	gɛ:p
	D15	+	gɛ:p
	D16	+	ga:p
	D17	+	gɛ:p
	D22	+	g ăp
	D23	+	gap
	D34	+	ga:p/gɛ:p
	D35	+	gɛp
	D37	+	"
	D38	+	"
	D40	+	gɛəp
	D41	+	gɛ'p
	D44	+	gɛ:p
	D45		gɛp
	D46		gɛəp
	D47		ga:p
	D48	+	gɛ:p
	D49		ga'p
	D51		gɛ:p
	D52		gap
	D53		"
	D54		gɛp
	D55		gɛp

#316	D56		gˈɛp
	D57		"
	D58		gˈɛp
	D61		"
	D62		gɛp
	D63		gˈap
#332	D 9	+	bʌnsˈ
	D11	+	"
	D39		"
	D47	+	ˈbʌndl
#430	D 2		klo:s / jɛ:rd
	D 7		ˈka:se
	D14		sTRit
	D15		sTRit
		+	klo:s
	D16		klo:s / jɛ:rd
	D17		klo:s
	D18		klo:s / jɛ:rd
	D20	(R)	" "
	D21		" "
	D22		" "
	D23		" "
	D24		" "
	D25		klo:s
	D26		klo:s / jɛ:rd
	D27		"
		+	ˈka·se

#430

D28 klo:s / jɛ:rd

D29 "

D31 "

D32 "

D33 "

D34 "

D35 klo:s

D37 "

D39 klo:s / jɛ:rd

D40 STRit

D41 STRit

D42 "

D44 "

D45 "

D46 (R) "

D47 (R) "

ja:rd

D48 STRit

D49 "

D52 klo:s / ja:rd

D53 ja:rd

D55 "

D56 klo:s / ja:rd

D58 "

```
#430    D59     ja:rd
        D60     klo:s
        D61     klo:s
        D62     strit / klo:s
        D63          "
        D64          "
```

Chapter VII

Notes on County Antrim Tabulations

The following are items or variants that could not be shown in the Tabulations:

#393	A 2	ɯa:z
	A3	ɯɔ:z
	A 5	ɯe:z
	A15	ho:z
#430	A 1	ˈka:ze + ˈlonin
	A 4	ˈka:se
	A 7	"
	A 8	"
	A 9	"
	A10	"
	A11	"
	A12	jɛ:rd (ˈka:se *NK)*
	A13	ˈka:se
	A15	"
	A16	"
	A17	" + jɛ:rd
	A18	" "
#519	A4	ro'k *only in place name:-*
		(John Dempsey's ro'k)

Chapter VIII

Notes on County Londonderry Tabulations

It is noteworthy that L4 in characteristic items goes along with the Laggan dialect, having [ɛ̈] rather than [æ̈], [a] rather than [ɑ] etc., phonetically, having /i/ in əˈbin (above) etc., and di: (die).

On the other hand L1, L2 and L3 are very similar to North Antrim.

Chapter IX

Notes on County Donegal Tabulations

The SI dialects of Donegal share certain phonetic features which mark them off from the other types of SI spoken in NE Ulster.

Where the latter have a back open vowel [ɑ] Donegal has the fronter variety, [a], not only in free form but in the diphthongal combination [aɪ] which corresponds to the NE [ɑe].

The extremely open front-retracted vowel [æ̈] in NE words such as [ræ̈g] ridge is noticeably less open in Donegal which has [ɛ̈] in its place.

The unrounded vowel [ʌ] which is frequently met in parts of Down and Antrim, is uniformly represented by the rounded form [ö] in Donegal.

Among the bilingual Gaelic speakers of Donegal whose second language is SI, certain substitutions are found in their range of consonants. They use a flapped [ʀ] in all positions, not merely in the neighbourhood of interdentals. With them also /ʍ / and /f / tend to fall together as /ɸ/, and /v / is represented by /β /.

Notes on Co.Donegal Tabulations (Continued)

Special peculiarities are listed below:

#3	T 3		brön̩
	T13		"
	T17		"
	T18	+	"
	T23		brön̩
	T26		"
	T27		"
#9	T28		ə ˈn̩ ÿ: *(at Doagh Hole)*
#28	T34	+	ʀʀe:
#37	T22	+	ˈgrisəg
#39	T 4	+	klötsˊ
	T 5		"
#125	T 5		ˈɛfʀər ˌsˊɔt
	T26		"
#160	T19		*says* [fɛrm] *is Scotch!*
#218	T22	+	ᴅʀɔht
#266	T10		ˈtwöstʌʀ
#267	T 7		ᴍönz
#316	T 2	+	gap
#372	T18		be ˈhəülən

#405	T1	ˈbistɳ
	T2	ˈbistɳz
	T3	ˈbistɳ
	T5	ˈbiste/ ˈbisʔnz
	T6	ˈbistɳz
	T7	ˈbistɳ
	T8	"
	T9	ˈbiskə́n/ ˈbistɻənz
	T10	ˈbistɪnz
	T11	ˈbiste mɛ̈lk
	T12	ˈbistɳ
	T13	ˈbistɳz
	T14	ˈbistɳz
	T15	ˈbistɳ mɛ̈lk
	T16	"
	T17	ˈbistənz
	T19	ˈbistɳ mɛ̈lk
	T20	"
	T21	ˈbistɳz
	T22	"
	T23	ˈbistənz
	T24	ˈbistɳz
	T25	"
	T26	ˈbistɳe mɛ̈lk
	T27	ˈbistənz
	T28	ˈbistɳz

#405	T29	ˈbistɳz / ˈbistɳ ˈmɛ̈lk
	T30	" "
	T31	"
	T32	ˈbiste ˈmɛ̈lk / ˈbistinz
	T33	ˈbistɳz
	T34	ˈbistinz
#430	T21	+ ˈka·se
#440	T1	ˈpɛ̈sl′əg
	T5	ˈpɛ̈s ˌlɔg
	T21	+ fre:z
	T32	ˈpɨ̈sl′ag
	T34	ˈpɛ̈sʀag
#483	T13	N.B. he:l *(hole)*
#612	T1	ˈmül′əg
	T2	"
	T3	" / ˈmüləg ˈmjüləg / ˈmɔl′e
	T4	ˈmwɨ̈ləg
	T5	ˈmü·lɪg′
	T6	ˈmül′əg
	T7	ˈmɔ·l′e
	T8	ˈmɔ:l′e
	T9	ˈmɔ·l′e
	T10	ˈmwɨ̈l′ən
	T11	ˈmül′ən
	T12	ˈmwɨ̈l′əg

#612	T13	ˈmɔːlʼən
	T15	ˈmɔlʼe
	T16	"
	T17	"
	T19	"
	T20	"
	T21	"
	T22	"
	T23	"
	T24	"
	T25	"
	T26	"
	T27	ˈmɒlʼe
	T28	ˈmɔlʼe
	T29	"
	T30	"
	T31	"
	T32	ˈmüːlag ˈmwïlag müːl (Gael. ˈbɔː ˈwüːl)
	T33	ˈmwïlʼag
	T34	ˈmɔɪle (Gael. ˈmülag)

Chapter X

List 1

The incidence of /x/ in #1 to #31 of this list proved to be one of the best criteria for marking off SI from UAI, as the latter generally had /f/ or zero in these cases.

DAUGHTER: This map, for example, shows--for the SI form with /x/ --virtually the same outline as that of the Final Boundary.[35] In Co.Down only D25 and D33 (who in any case belongs to a younger generation than most of the other informants) did not have /x/ in this word. D25 had /x/ in every other word elicited in the series, and even D33 had /x/ in twelve cases out of seventeen. In Donegal only T1 and T13 (the former again of the younger generation) did not have /x/ here; but T1 had /h/ --his equivalent of /x/ --in nine out of the twelve words asked for, and T13 had /x/ in eight out of ten.

EIGHT, ENOUGH, FIGHT and NIGHT have maps substantially similar to the above.

EIGHT: Here D33 does not have /x/ , nor does D2. In Antrim /x/ is missing with A2; in Derry, with L4 and in Donegal, with T9, T19, T24 and T27. With this word we have to bear in mind the standardizing pressure of the schools, and, for the last three points mentioned, the pressure of S Donegal Anglo-Irish.

Apart from D18 and T24 the map for ENOUGH coincides completely with the Final Boundary Map; the same is true

for FIGHT, with A8 and T9 as exceptions; and for NIGHT, with the exception of D33, T9 and T12.

TOUGH: The SI forms (with characteristic palatalised or affricate initial consonant) have spread or remained outside the usual boundary, perhaps for affective reasons. Thus it crops up with D48, D49, D52, D62, D64, and A22.

TROUGH: In contrast with all the above items, seems to have /x/ virtually everywhere in Ulster--even, be it noted, in the speech of many educated Belfast speakers. Perhaps the association between the sound [x] and the Schriftbild of "Lough" may provide some explanation of this phenomenon.

The dialectal words in List 1 which have no obvious cognate form in Standard English to act as a check have a distribution well outside the present SI areas and therefore, like TROUGH, are useless for boundary-drawing. This is true for lexical items such as griseach (embers), laghter (a brood) and sheugh (ditch) which have been mapped. Sheugh, like TROUGH is probably universally used in Ulster and even beyond. The word laghter was known to all but seven of the 125 informants interviewed. Although not checked everywhere, griseach has apparently an equally wide distribution.

List 2

ABOVE: Here the SI forms with front vowels /i/ , /e/, /ɪ/ plus /n/ are in contrast with the UAI forms with

back vowels /ʌ/ or /ö/ plus /ʋ/ . The isoglosses for the SI forms are once again almost identical with those for DAUGHTER, ENOUGH etc. and with the Final Boundary. This time D43 and D61 have SI forms, and the SI form has been lost by A8. The distribution of the SI forms themselves is interesting: /i/ is used by all SI speakers in Donegal, by L4, and also in the Mid Ards and on the western shores of Strangford Lough; /e/ belongs to N Antrim and NE Derry; and /ɪ/ to Mid and E Antrim and N Down.[36]

DONE has SI forms with the front vowels listed for ABOVE. The isoglosses are basically still the same but D44 has the SI form while D20, D29, D36, L2, T1, T8, T11 and T13 (who would be expected to have it) have not.

FLOOR has preserved one of its SI forms best in Donegal. The UAI standard form /flor/ , or more usually the UAI dialectal form /flør/ , have made extensive inroads against the SI forms in the NE, all along the dialect boundary.

DOOR, though its SI form has clearly a different historical background, is included in this list because UAI, standard and dialectal, has forms parallel (as far as the vowel is concerned) to those of FLOOR. The traditional SI form has lost some ground in Donegal (T11, T19, T20, T22, T24) and along the east coast of Antrim (A8, A9, A10, A11). It has lost a little in

N Down (D20, D22) but has spread or stayed outside the usual SI boundary further south (D43, D46, D58)

FOOT gives the usual isoglosses apart from A8 and T9.

GOOD (incompletely investigated): The SI form spreads over its normal limit in the Ards to D44. It has been lost by D25 and D29, as well as by A8, T4 and T5.

SHOES (included for reasons of morphology) has a plural in /-n/ in SI. These /n/ -plurals cover an area slightly smaller than the phonologically corresponding word DONE. The standard plural in /-z/ has replaced the SI form with D18, D19, D25, D30, D33, D36, D37; A2, A5, A8, A13; L2; T9 and T13.

HOOK, in contrast with FLOOR, shows better preservation of SI forms in the NE and their virtual elimination in Donegal.

List 3

FIND: The SI form with a simple vowel (as against the UAI diphthong) has the usual distribution apart from T27.

SON: The SI form holds its own better in the NE (apart from D25, D33, A8, L4) whereas in Donegal it has been largely replaced.

TUP: Only the SI form of this word was found. The form suggested by the spelling does not seem to occur. In places where the SI form is unknown "ram" takes its

place. Probably because of this lack of check the SI form has spread or remained far outside the usual SI limits.

BRIDGE was included to check on the SI form with final voiced velar plosive, which has survived well up to the usual borders, apart from D4, A11, A13.

List 4

APPLE: The SI forms overflow their usual boundary in the S Ards (D42, D43, D44, D45) and in the S Laggan (T29, T30) but have lost ground in Inishowen (T8).

FAMILY: SI spreads down to D43 but is lost with D25 and T27.

FATHER: SI has normal distribution for Donegal, Derry and Antrim but has gone with D30, D33, D35, D39.

CART: The SI version has spread well beyond its usual lines in the NE but follows the usual isogloss for Donegal apart from T15 and T24.

FARM: The contrast between SI and UAI forms gives something like the expected boundary with some loss of territory for SI; but the total pattern is disrupted by the intrusion of a third version, /fɔrm/ , especially across the middle of the SI region in NE Down as well as for A18 and T9.[37]

List 5

COW: The SI form with simple vowel follows the final

Boundary exactly. Though claimed by T32 it is not normal for Glenvar, a Gaelic-speaking valley.

COWS: The SI Umlaut plural holds its ground well in the NE (except for D36 and D39) but in Donegal the normal English plural morpheme, /-z/ has been widely added to the SI undiphthongized vowel of the singular.

FULL: The old SI l-less form has the usual isoglosses but has gone with D18, D30, A2, T1, T13, T22.

ABOUT: The SI isoglosses are identical with the Final Boundary, apart from the S Ards where the SI form spreads to D44.

HOUSE: The usual isoglosses for SI occur again, except for one outlying point, T33.

OUR: This word was not completely investigated in Donegal, but the SI version covers the usual areas, apart from L3. The SI form extends to D43 in the S Ards.

OUR has a weakly-stressed version which investigation shows to be almost universal in all Ulster dialects whether SI or UAI. It is missing only with D41 and D43.

List 6

TWENTY: The SI forms cover the usual area in the NE but extend to outlying points with D46, D56 and A22. In Donegal, however, the SI form has gone with T19, T20, T21 and T24.

TWISTER: The SI version extends beyond its usual limits in Co.Down, covering almost the whole Ards peninsula,

and similarly in Co.Antrim, reaching out to include A21.

WHIN: The SI vowel again reaches the southern tip of the Ards peninsula solidly, except for D41 and D47, and covers the same area in Antrim, Derry and Donegal as the SI version of TWISTER.

Words of this type are, therefore, not a very good criterion when it is a matter of drawing boundaries.

FOUND: Apart from an extension to D44 and D48 the distribution of the undiphthongized vowel in the SI form of this word has the expected NE distribution. Although Donegal was not completely covered, the SI speakers (except T27) have this simple vowel.

List 7

CROP (harvest) has the typical SI unrounded vowel with speakers well beyond the usual limits (D41, D43, D44, D47, D48, D52, D53, D55, D56, D57, D58, D61, D63; A20, A21, A22) and was found at all points checked in Donegal.

CROP (of a bird), with the same SI unrounded vowel, has once more a wider distribution than usual, covering all but eleven of the points investigated throughout Ulster.

SLAP, a SI dialect word belonging to this phonological series, covers the whole Ards peninsula and the whole of the area investigated in Donegal. It is not known west of the usual line in Down and Antrim except by D62, A19 and A22.

MUST: The traditional SI form of this word has survived within the usual boundaries (both in affirmative and negative form), having been lost only by D25, D28, A2, T1 and T9. It actually extends to D43 and D44 in the Ards.

LONG: The typical SI unrounded vowel is found throughout the usual areas and even extends outside them to T33 and T34.

WET: The SI form again has its typical distribution but extends to D43 and D44 in the Ards and has been lost by A13 and T13.

List 8

FALL: The traditional l-less SI forms have the usual spread in Down and Antrim (A5, A8 and A9 excepted) but in places further west it has gone with L4, T10, T19, T25, T27).

CROW: The SI forms with /a/ or/ɔ/ holds out best in Down, except with D18 and D28. They have lost ground in N Antrim (A1, A4, A5, A8, A18), in Derry (L2, L4) and Donegal (not completely checked).

SNOW: SI forms have a distribution very similar to the previous word.

AWAY: SI versions occur at all expected points except for D2, D10, D14, D36, A6.

TWO: The SI forms have survived widely in all four counties, though not with D2, D33, D39, A5, T1, T13, T24, T27.

WHERE: The SI versions are missing only with D2, D14,

D28.

WHO: SI survives with all speakers except T5 and T13.

List 9

EYES: The /-n/ plural was given by all SI speakers in Down. In Antrim and Derry it was missing with A2, A8, L2 and L4.

BREAD, though not checked everywhere, shows a slight expansion outside the usual SI boundaries in the S Ards (D43, D44) but otherwise follows the normal SI distribution.

MARE, as in the case of the previous word, shows an occasional extension beyond the SI limits (D43, T32, T33).

List 10

HOME shows normal SI distribution pattern with three cases of expansion (D43, D44, D47).

ONE shows the usual SI patterning again, though SI forms were not used by D2, T9, T13, T18, T24, T26, T27.

STONE: As would be expected has a map very similar to that for HOME, the SI form spreading to D43, D44, D47, T15, T19.

STRAW: SI forms have spread to D43, D45, D47 in the S Ards but have been lost with T9 and T12.

weans: *This SI word is virtually universal in Ulster. It was only disclaimed by two informants, D53 and D54.*

hain *extends likewise beyond the usual SI limits,*

except towards W Down, in the S Laggan and in Fanad and Inishowen.

List 11

CORN: The SI form has the usual spread, except for its extension to D43, D44, D45.

DOG has at least three characteristic SI forms which cover the usual area with some extra points (D44, D61, A20, T31, T33) and but one loss (T24).[38]

gopen: This word of Scots origin was known by every speaker interrogated but not used at D50.

lonin: This Scots word is found almost universally in Down, Antrim and Derry and is used at all points covered except D3, D40, D50, D55. It has lost about half the usual SI territory in Donegal where "lane" has taken over, yet it has spread S of the R. Finn (to T30) and into Inishowen (T34).

NOT: The SI t-less forms cover the usual areas in Donegal, Derry and Antrim but spread beyond the normal limits in Down to D43, D44, D45, D46, D50, D51, D55.

List 12

ay (always) has normal distribution in Donegal and Derry but encroaches in Antrim on UAI territory with A19, A20, A21, and in Down to all points except D50 and the three at the southern tip of the Ards peninsula.

HAY has the usual spread in Donegal, Derry and Antrim, but has extended its territory to D43, D44, and D51.

quey *was known at all but four points in Donegal, Derry and Antrim (T29, T30, A13, A19), and in Down has spread to D41, D42, D43, D56, D58 although not used by D3, D4, D16, D19, D23, D28, D29, D33, D34.*

List 13

COLD (first map): The diphthongal vocalic nucleus is virtually universal in Ulster, though disclaimed by D41, D53 and A19.

COLD (second map): The /ɑ/ -form was not fully investigated except in Down where it is well known and parallel to the diphthongal form above.

OLD: First and second maps follow very closely the last two above for COLD.

knowe: *This Scots word was found at all points checked.*

EWE: The SI form was found at all points where it was expected, except with T24, L2, L4, D14, D28, D36 and has a few extensions (T33, D44, D45, D47, D48, D50, D56).

FOUR: The SI form holds its ground in Down and Antrim (except for D36, A2), but has gone with L2, L4, T9, T22, T25 and along the western borders of the Laggan.

OVER: The SI form has the usual distribution in Donegal, Derry and Antrim but reaches out to D43, D45 and D46 in Down.

THAW follows the expected pattern in Donegal, Derry and Antrim. In Down the SI form has spread to D41, D42,

D45, D47, D48, D60.

List 14

DO: Once again Donegal, Derry and Antrim have the usual spread of SI forms (except for T9 who has lost it). In Down the SI form has spread to D43, D44, D53.

DON'T: This map is almost as for DO but SI form has been lost with T27 as well as T9 and in Down has spread only to D43, D44, and D45.

HAVE: This map agrees with the Final Boundary map except that the SI form spreads to D43, D44 and is lost with T19.

HAVE TO is almost as for the word HAVE except that the SI form reaches A20 and D58.

CAN'T has the normal map for Donegal, Derry and Antrim, but SI forms are used by D42, D43, D44, D57.

GIVE: The SI forms extend to A22, A23, D43, D45, D56.

GAVE/GIVEN is identical with the above.

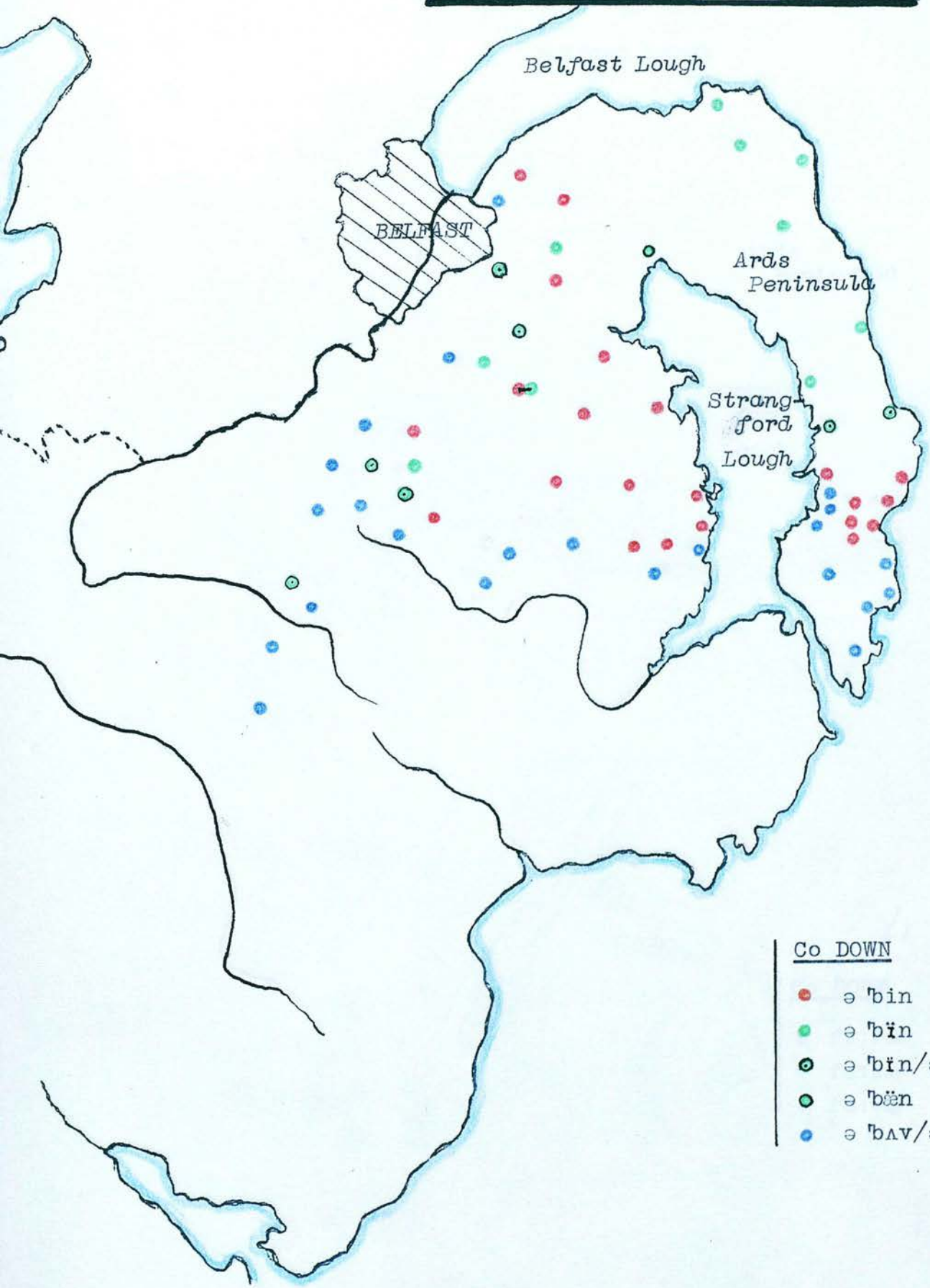
TAKE: The SI form has gone with D15, D25, but has spread to D48.

TOOK/TAKEN have lost SI forms in Donegal and Antrim in many places although the familiar outline is still apparent especially in Down.

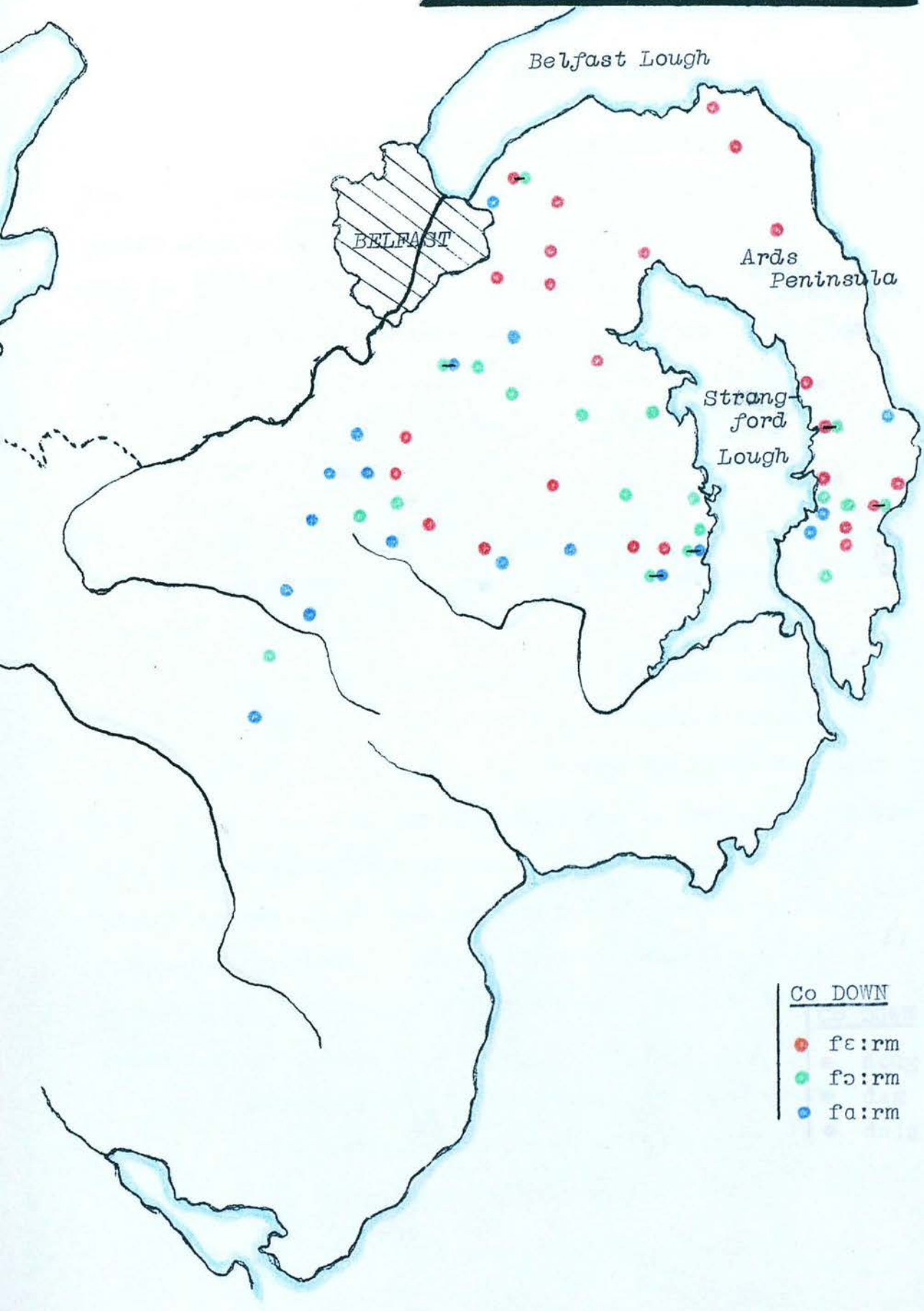
GO was not fully investigated. SI forms are still fairly common in Down.

GOING has gone to an even greater extent than GO.

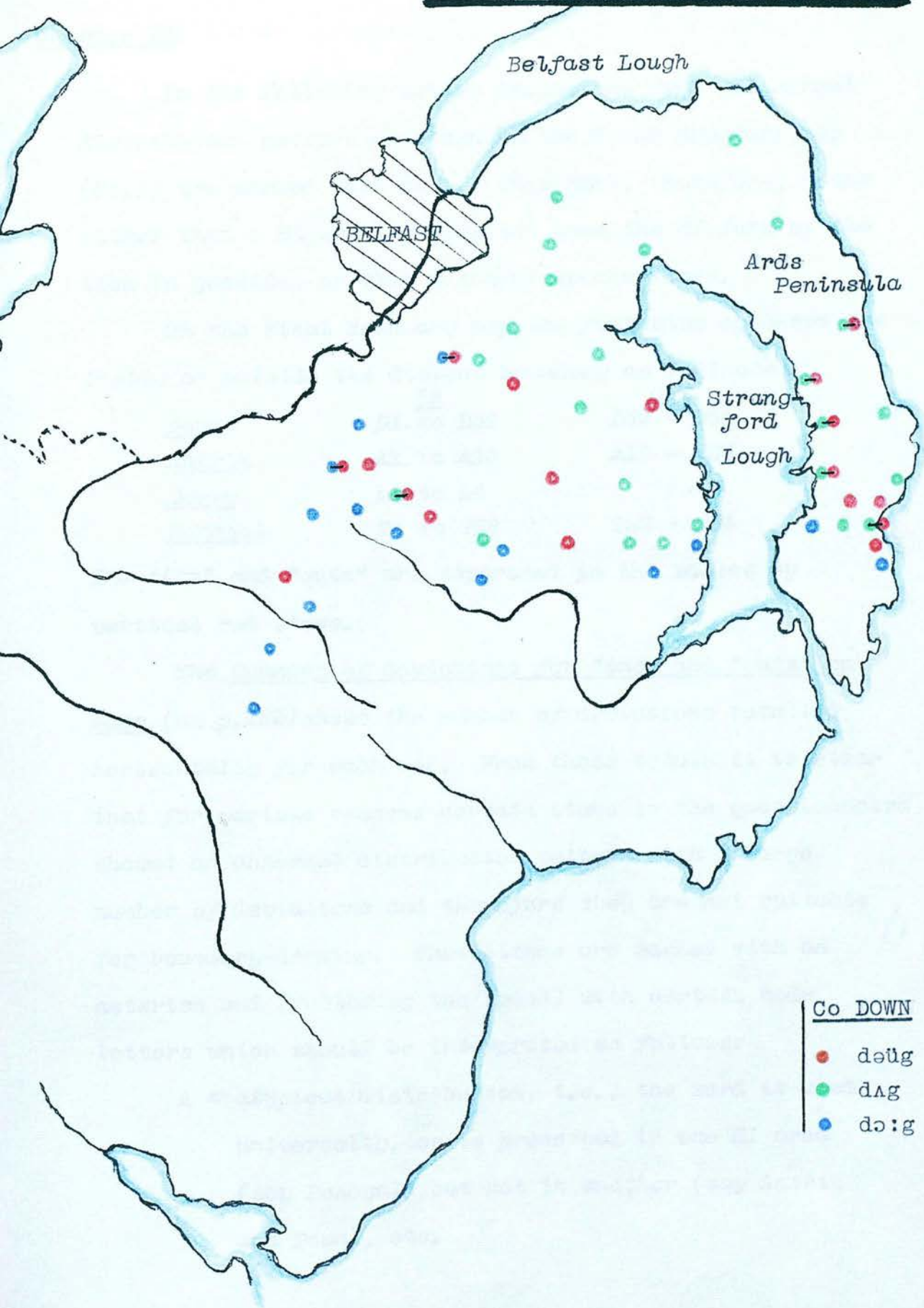
#48 ABOVE


Belfast Lough
BELFAST
Ards Peninsula
Strang-ford Lough
Co DOWN
ə ˈbin
ə ˈbɪ̈n
ə ˈbɪ̈n/ə ˈbʊ̈n
ə ˈbɛ̈n
ə ˈbʌv/ə ˈböv

#160 FARM


Belfast Lough
BELFAST
Ards Peninsula
Strang-ford Lough
Co DOWN
fɛ:rm
fɔ:rm
fa:rm

512 DOG


Belfast Lough
BELFAST
Ards
Peninsula
Strang-
ford
Lough
Co DOWN
dəüg
dʌg
dɔ:g

Chapter XI

In the following tables deviations from the normal distribution pattern as shown on the Final Boundary map (No.1) are marked with an x. This mark, therefore, means either that a SI speaker does not have the SI form of the item in question or that a non-SI speaker does.

On the Final Boundary map the following speakers are inside or outside the dialect boundary as indicated:

	IN	OUT
Down	D1 to D39	D39 - D64
Antrim	A1 to A18	A19 - A23
Derry	L1 to L4	
Donegal	T1 to T28	T29 - T34

The "ins" and "outs" are separated in the tables by vertical red lines.

The Summary of deviations for "ins" and "outs" on maps (on p.125) shows the number of deviations totalled horizontally for each map. From these totals it is clear that for various reasons certain items in the questionnaire showed an abnormal distribution pattern with a large number of deviations and therefore they are not suitable for boundary-drawing. These items are marked with an asterisk and (following the total) with certain code letters which should be interpreted as follows:

A = atypical distribution, i.e., the word is used universally, or is preserved in one SI area (say Donegal) but not in another (say Antrim and Down), etc.

L = lexical item, i.e., a word whose SI form is not in contrast with a recognizable UAI equivalent.

M = morphological item, often obsolescent.

I = incomplete coverage, i.e., these items were not fully investigated.

Apart from these abnormal maps (of which there are 36) and the first two maps which show the Final Boundary and the location of the informants, the remaining 52 maps show very little variation, the number of deviations either way from the Final Boundary map being always ten or under (out of a population of 125) as shown below:

Deviations	Maps on which they occur
1	21, 30, 33
2	6, 34, 35
3	5, 7, 17, 52, 53, 55/L 56, 57, 87
4	3, 26, 40, 46, 63, 69, 80, 84, 85
5	13, 27, 45, 50, 81, 82, 83, 86
6	8, 18, 24, 32, 64, 78
7	~~44~~, 58, 59, 60, 67, ~~86~~
8	25, 37, 51
9	4, 14, 38, 44/L 47, 79
10	54

The Summary of deviations for informants (on page 126) gives an analysis of the figures for the 52 maps mentioned above. They may be summed up as follows:

Deviations (shown by)	Number of informants
0	49
1	28
2	12
3	8
4	10
5	8
6	3
7	1
8	-
9	1
10	1
11	1
12	1
Over 12	2

These figures show that on the 52 maps in question 115 out of 125 informants have only five deviations or fewer from the Final Boundary map distribution; another 8 informants have 12 deviations or fewer; and only 2 (D43, D44) have enough deviations to bring them near the half-way mark, thus making their classification within the SI dialect area rather tentative.

Correspondence of Maps and Items from the Questionnaire

Map	Item	Map	Item	Map	Item
1	Final Boundary	31	#186	61	#505
2	Informants	32	#200	62	#506
3	#5	33	#205	63	#511
4	#8	34	#227	64	#512
5	#9	35	#233	65	#515
6	#10	36	#234	66	#517
7	#18	37	#264	67	#518a
8	#27	38	#266	68	#524
9	#28	39	#267	69	#529
10	#37	40	#294	70	#532
11	#39	41	#309	71	#571
12	#43	42	#310	72	#571
13	#48	43	#316	73	#574
14	#58	44	#334	74	#574
15	#59	45	#339	75	#590
16	#60	46	#353	76	#599
17	#62	47	#366	77	#600
18	#63	48	#381	78	#608
19	#82	49	#385	79	#610
20	#92	50	#390	80	#614
21	#100	51	#391	81	#615
22	#105	52	#392	82	#621
23	#109	53	#393	83	#623
24	#114	54	#414	84	#632
25	#126	55	#435	85	#646
26	#132	56	#443	86	#647/8
27	#133	57	#464	87	#649
28	#159	58	#473	88	#650/1
29	#160	59	#480	89	#660
30	#185	60	#481	90	#661

Co. Down

Map	D1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1																				
2																				
3																				
4		x																		
5																		x		
6																				
7																				
8																				
*9																				
*10				x				x	x											
*11																				x
*12																				
13																				
14																				x
*15																x	x	x		x
*16																				x
17																				
18																				
*19																		x	x	
*20		x				x								x					x	
21																				
*22																				
*23																				
24				x																
25																				
26																				
27															x					
*28																				
*29																				
30																				

Co. Down

Map	D21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39
1																			
2																			
3					x								x						
4													x						
5																			
6																			
7													x						
8																			
*9																			
*10																			
*11																			
*12																			
13																x			
14									x							x			
*15	x	x		x	x			x	x					x	x				x
*16		x						x											
17																			
18					x				x										
*19								x		x			x			x	x		x
*20				x	x			x		x		x			x	x			x
21																			
*22					x								x						
*23																			
24																			
25																			
26					x														
27										x			x			x			x
*28																			
*29																			
30																			

Co. Down

Map	D40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64
1																									
2																									
3																									
4																									
5																									
6																									
7																									
8									x	x			x										x		x
*9	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
*10				x					x								x	x					x	x	
*11		x	x	x		x	x		x	x		x	x		x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
*12	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
13				x								x										x			
14					x																				
*15																									
*16				x			x												x						
17					x																				
18					x																				
*19																									
*20																									
21																									
*22																									
*23		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
24				x	x																				
25			x	x	x	x											x								
26				x																					
27																									
*28			x	x	x	x	x		x	x			x					x	x	x	x	x	x		x
*29																									
30																									

Co. Antrim

Map	A1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
1																							
2																							
3																							
4		x																					
5																							
6								x															
7																							
8																						x	
*9																			x	x	x	x	
*10												x							x	x	x		x
*11																			x	x	x	x	x
*12																			x	x	x	x	
13								x															
14																							
*15	x	x	x	x				x			x		x				x	x					
*16								x	x	x	x		x										
17								x															
18								x															
*19		x			x			x					x					x					
*20	x	x			x				x				x			x	x	x					
21																							
*22								x					x										
*23																			x	x	x	x	
24											x		x										
25																							
26																						x	
27																							
*28																				x	x	x	x
*29																							
30																							

Map	Co. Derry L1	2	3	4	Co. Donegal T1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1																		
2																		
3					x												x	
4				x									x					
5																x		
6													x					
7													x			x		
8																		
*9																		
*10																		
*11																		
*12																		
13																		
14		x			x								x		x		x	
*15	x	x	x	x									x					
*16															x			
17													x					
18								x	x									
*19		x											x				x	
*20	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	
21																		
*22				x	x					x	x	x	x				x	
*23																		
24																		
25												x						
26																		
27																		
*28																		
*29																		
30																		

Co. Donegal

Map	T15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
1																				
2																				
3																				
4					x					x	x		x							
5										x										
6																				
7																				
8																				
*9															x		x	x	x	x
*10															x	x	x	x	x	x
*11															x	x	x	x	x	
*12															x	x	x	x	x	x
13																				
14																				
*15										x									x	
*16					x	x		x		x										
17																				
18																				
*19																				
*20		x	x		x	x	x	x				x	x	x						
21													x							
*22			x	x	x		x						x	x						
*23		x				x					x				x					
24																		x		
25															x	x				
26													x							
27																				
*28	x									x										
*29																				
30																		x		

Co. Down

Map	D1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
31																				
32																		x		
33																				
34																				
35																				
* 36																				
37																				
38																				
*39																				
40																				
* 41																				
* 42																				
* 43																				
44																				
45																				
46																				
47																				
* 48																		x		
* 49																		x		
50		x								x				x						
51		x																		
52		x												x						
53																				
54																				
55																				
56																				
57																				
58		x																		
59																				
60																				

Co. Down

Map	D21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39
31																			
32										x									
33																			
34																			
35																			
*36																			
37																			
38																			
*39																			
40																			
*41																			
*42																			
*43								x											
44					x			x											x
45																			
46																			
47																			
*48								x								x			
*49																x			x
50																x			
51													x						x
52								x											
53																			
54																			
55																			
56																			
57																			
58																			
59																			
60																			

Co. Down

Map	D40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64
31																									
32																									
33					x																				
34				x	x																				
35				x																					
*36	x		x			x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
37							x										x								
38				x	x		x		x									x							
*39			x	x	x	x	x		x	x															
40				x		x			x																
*41			x	x	x			x	x			x	x			x	x	x	x			x		x	
*42			x	x			x	x	x			x	x			x		x	x			x	x	x	x
*43		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x													x		
44				x	x	x																			
45				x	x																				
46				x	x																				
47																									
*48																									
*49																									
50																									
51																									
52																									
53																									
54																									
55				x	x																				
56				x																					
57				x	x			x																	
58																									
59				x	x			x														x			
60				x		x		x																	

Co. Antrim

Map	A1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
31																							
32		x																					
33																							
34																							
35																							
*36																				x	x	x	
37																						x	
38																							
*39																					x	x	
40																							
*41																				x	x	x	
*42																					x	x	
*43																			x			x	
44		x																					
45																							
46													x										
47					x			x	x				x										
*48	x			x	x			x										x					
*49	x	x		x	x			x										x					
50							x																
51					x																		
52																							
53																							
54		x						x															
55																							
56																							
57																							
58																							
59																							
60																							

Map	Co. Derry L1	2	3	4	Co. Donegal T1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
31																		
32					x												x	
33																		
34																		
35			x															
*36																		
37																		
38																		
*39																		
40																		
*41																		
* 42																		
*43																		
44					x								x					
45																		
46																	x	
47				x										x				
* 48		x		x					x									
*49		x		x		x		x			x			x	x		x	
50																		
51					x												x	
52																		
53									x							x	x	
54		x		x						x	x		x	x				
55																		
56																		
57																		
58													x				x	
59																		
60		x		x									x			x		

Co. Donegal

Map	T15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
31																				
32								x												
33																				
34																				
35																				
*36															x		x			
37					x	x	x			x					x					
38															x	x	x			x
*39															x	x	x	x	x	x
40													x							
*41															x	x				
*42																x		x		
*43															x	x		x	x	x
44																				
45																		x	x	x
46																				
47					x						x		x							
*48		x			x		x													
*49											x		x							
50																				
51										x			x							
52																				
53																				
54											x		x							
55																	x			
56																		x	x	
57																				
58				x						x		x	x							
59	x				x														x	
60																				

Co. Down

Map	D1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
*61																				
*62																		x		
63																				
64																				
*65																				
*66			x																	
67																				
*68																				
69																				
*70			x	x																
*71																				
*72																				
*73																				
*74																				
*75																				
*76														x						
*77		x																		
78																				
79																				
80																				
81																				
82																				
83																				
84																				
85																				
86																				
87															x					
*88														x						
*89							x				x	x			x			x		
*90												x			x					

Co. Down

Map	D21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39
*61																			
*62								x	x	x									
63																			
64																			
*65																			
*66																			
67																			
*68																			
69																			
*70			x					x	x				x						
*71																			
*72																			
*73																			
*74																			
*75																			
*76								x								x			
*77																x			
78																			
79								x											
80																			
81																			
82																			
83																			
84																			
85																			
86																			
87					x														
*88						x										x			
*89			x	x	x								x			x	x		x
*90																			

Co. Down

Map	D40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64
*61			x		x	x						x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
*62		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x								x		x	x				
63				x	x	x											x								
64					x																	x			
*65	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
*66		x	x	x	x	x	x			x		x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
67				x	x	x	x				x														
*68	x	x	x	x	x	x		x				x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
69				x	x							x		x											
*70		x	x	x								x	x				x		x		x				
*71	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
*72																									
*73			x	x	x				x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
*74																									
*75	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
*76					x	x		x	x		x	x					x								
*77																									
78				x		x	x					x	x												
79		x	x			x		x	x			x									x				
80				x		x								x											
81				x	x	x																			
82				x	x																				
83				x															x						
84			x	x	x																				
85				x		x											x								
86				x		x											x								
*87									x																
88																	x							x	
*89																									
*90									x																

Co. Antrim

Map	A1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
*61																					x	x	
*62																					x	x	x
63																							
64																				x			
*65																			x	x	x	x	
*66																			x	x	x	x	
67																						x	
*68																				x	x		
69																							
*70									x				x							x	x	x	
*71																				x	x	x	
*72																							
*73																			x	x	x	x	
*74																							
*75																			x	x	x	x	
*76																							
*77		x																					
78																						x	
79													x										
80																							
81																							
82																						x	
83																				x		x	
84																							
85																						x	
86																						x	x
87																							
*88				x			x										x			x	x	x	
*89		x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x					x	x						
*90					x					x													

Map	Co. Derry				Co. Donegal													
	L1	2	3	4	T1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
*61																		
*62																		
63																		
64																		
*65																		
*66														x	x		x	
67																		
*68																		
69																		
*70																		
*71																		
*72																		
*73																		
*74																		
*75																		
*76		x		x														
*77		x		x									x		x		x	
78																		
79																		
80													x					
81													x					
82									x									
83																		
84																		
85																		
86																		
87																		
*88				x		x	x						x		x		x	
*89	x		x	x														
*90					x												x	

Co. Donegal

map	T15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
*61															x	x	x	x		x
*62																				
63																				
64										x							x		x	
*65																x		x		
*66		x			x			x	x	x						x	x			x
67																			x	
*68																				
69																				
*70																	x	x	x	x
*71															x	x	x	x		
*72																				
*73															x	x		x	x	x
*74																				
*75															x	x				
*76										x	x								x	x
*77					x			x		x	x		x							
78																				
79																				
80																				
81													x							
82					x															
83																		x		
84																		x		
85																				
86																				
87																				
*88																				
*89				x	x															
*90																				

Summary of deviations for "ins" and "outs" on maps.

Map	Outs T1-28	Ins T29-34	Outs L1-4	Outs A1-18	Ins A19-23	Outs D1-39	Ins D40-64	TOTAL
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	4
4	5	-	1	1	-	2	-	9
5	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	3
6	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
7	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	3
8	-	-	-	-	1	-	5	6
*9	-	5	-	-	4	-	25	34A
*10	-	6	-	1	4	3	6	20L/I
*11	-	5	-	-	5	1	18	29L
*12	-	6	-	-	4	-	22	32L
13	-	-	-	1	-	1	3	5
14	4	-	1	-	-	3	1	9
*15	2	1	4	9	-	13	-	29A
*16	5	-	-	5	-	3	3	16A
17	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	3
18	2	-	-	1	-	2	1	6
*19	2	-	1	5	-	8	-	16M
*20	20	-	4	8	-	12	-	44A
21	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
*22	12	-	1	2	-	2	-	17A
*23	3	1	-	-	4	-	24	32L
24	-	1	-	2	-	1	2	6
25	1	2	-	-	-	-	5	8
26	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	4
27	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	5
*28	2	-	-	-	4	-	15	21A
*29	Contrastive pattern spoiled by 3rd unidentified variant A							
30	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1

Summary of deviations for "ins" and "outs" on maps - continued.

Map	Outs T1-28	Ins T29-34	Outs L1-4	Outs A1-18	Ins A19-23	Outs D1-39	Ins D40-64	TOTAL
*31	Contrastive pattern spoiled by use of hybrid plural in Donegal							- M
32	3	-	-	1	-	2	-	6
33	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
34	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
35	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	2
*36	-	2	-	-	3	-	21	26A
37	4	1	-	-	1	-	2	8
38	-	4	-	-	-	-	5	9
*39	-	6	-	-	2	-	7	15A
40	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	4
*41	-	2	-	-	3	-	13	18A
*42	-	2	-	-	2	-	14	18A
*43	-	5	-	-	2	1	9	17L
44	2	-	-	1	-	3	3	9
45	-	3	-	-	-	-	2	5
46	1	-	-	1	-	-	2	4
47	4	-	1	4	-	-	-	9
*48	4	-	2	5	-	3	-	14A
*49	8	-	2	6	-	3	-	19A
50	-	-	-	1	-	4	-	5
51	4	-	-	1	-	3	-	8
52	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3
53	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
54	6	-	2	2	-	-	-	10
55	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	3
56	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	3
57	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
58	6	-	-	-	-	1	-	7
59	2	1	-	-	-	-	4	7
60	2	-	2	-	-	-	3	7

Summary of deviations for "ins" and "outs" on maps - continued.

Map	Outs T1-28	Ins T29-34	Outs L1-4	Outs A1-18	Ins A19-23	Outs D1-39	Ins D40-64	TOTAL
*61	-	5	-	-	2	-	15	22L
*62	-	-	-	-	3	4	12	19L
63	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
64	1	2	-	-	1	-	2	6
*65	-	2	-	-	4	-	23	29L
*66	8	3	-	-	4	1	19	35L
67	-	1	-	-	1	-	5	7
*68	-	-	-	-	2	-	21	23A
69	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
*70	-	4	-	2	3	6	8	23I/L
*71	-	4	-	-	3	-	23	30A
*72	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-I
*73	-	5	-	-	4	-	19	28A
*74	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-I
*75	-	2	-	-	4	-	24	30L
*76	2	2	2	-	-	3	7	16A
*77	8	-	2	1	-	2	-	13A
78	-	-	-	-	1	-	5	6
79	-	-	-	1	-	1	7	9
80	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	4
81	2	-	-	-	-	-	3	5
82	2	-	-	-	1	-	2	5
83	-	1	-	-	2	-	2	5
84	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	4
85	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	4
86	-	-	-	-	2	-	3	5
87	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3
*88	5	-	1	3	3	3	2	17A
*89	2	-	3	10	-	12	-	27A
*90	2	-	-	2	-	2	1	7A/I

SUMMARY OF DEVIATIONS FOR INFORMANTS

Informant	Deviations	Informant	Deviations	Informant	Deviations
D 1	5	D 21	-	D 40	-
2	1	22	-	41	1
3	2	23	-	42	3
4	-	24	-	43	26
5	-	25	5	44	21
6	1	26	-	45	12
7	-	27	-	46	4
8	-	28	3	47	4
9	1	29	2	48	5
10	-	30	2	49	1
11	-	31	-	50	1
12	-	32	-	51	4
13	2	33	5	52	2
14	2	34	-	53	2
15	-	35	-	54	-
16	-	36	4	55	-
17	2	37	-	56	5
18	-	38	-	57	1
19	1	39	3	58	1
20	-			59	-
				60	1
				61	3
				62	1
				63	-
				64	1

SUMMARY OF DEVIATIONS FOR INFORMANTS

Informant	Deviations	Informant	Deviations	Informant	Deviations
A 1	-	L 1	-	T 17	-
2	4	2	3	18	1
3	-	3	1	19	5
4	-	4	4	20	1
5	2	T 1	5	21	1
6	-	2	-	22	1
7	1	3	-	23	-
8	6	4	1	24	6
9	1	5	3	25	3
10	-	6	1	26	1
11	1	7	1	27	9
12	-	8	1	28	-
13	4	9	11	29	4
14	-	10	2	30	2
15	-	11	1	31	4
16	-	12	4	32	6
17	-	13	7	33	5
18	-	14	-	34	2
19	-	15	1		
20	3	16	-		
21	1				
22	10				
23	1				

Chapter XII

The informants were chosen after long and careful investigations and with the help of well-informed local people, (unfortunately far too numerous to be acknowledged individually). For the most part they had not travelled far afield from their native area and were, of course, natives of the district.

The majority of the informants used were over 60 and the oldest over 90 years. With some of the younger ones such as D33 a number of the characteristic SI pronunciations have been lost and replaced by Standard forms. However, informants A15 and T14, though young, were extremely well-versed in their local SI dialect.

On the few occasions when it was possible to check the speech of the three generations, it was observed that the younger and the youngest had lost many of the SI dialectal elements, especially along the fringes of the SI dialect zone. Only in the heart of the SI areas was the dialect well preserved among the youngest speakers. In other words the dialect boundary is and will be receding from the position marked in the Final Boundary map and its ultimate extinction may be envisaged, probably within the next few generations.

COUNTY DOWN INFORMANTS

			Age
D 1	Nelson, J.	Groomsport	(97)
D 2	Kinnaird, J.	Ballyminetra	(80)
D 3	Nelson, A.	Donaghadee	(67)
D 4	McDonald, R.	Newtownards	(76)
D 5	Mateer, H.	Killaughey	(68)
D 6	Adair, G.	Ballywalter	(72)
D 7	Gibson, R.	Ballygarvin	(74)
D 8	Weir, W.	Kircubbin	(67)
D 9	O'Neill, W.	Ballyhalbert	(77)
D10	Clint, D.	Ratalla	(70)
D11	McCormick, D.	Ringboy	(68)
D12	Clint, W.	Cloughey	(75)
D13	Rooney, D.	Tullycross	(71)
D14	Moore, T.	Ballygela	(65)
D15	McMaster, D.	Lisbane	(65)
D16	Speers, D.	Ballykeel	(66)
D17	Herriott, W.	Craigantlet	(71)
D18	Robb, A.	Dundonald	(72)
D19	Niblock, J.	Gilnahirk	(75)
D20	Watson, R.	Ballyrussell	(56)
D21	McAuley, S.	Moneyreagh	(87)
D22	Garrett, R.H.	Granshaw	(81)
D23	Boyce, J.	Drumhirk	(83)
D24	McFarland, R.	Ballynagarrick	(72)
D25	Lappin, J.	Tullyhubbert	(72)
D26	Townley, J.	Magherascouse	(75)
D27	Bishop, F.	Tullynakill	(77)
D28	Morrow, J.	Ballycarngannon	(56)
D29	McGowan, Miss K.J.	Boardmills	(80)
D30	Prentice, Miss	Carricknaveigh	(70)
D31	Connolly, W.J.	Ravara	(77)
D32	Watson, J.	Ballymacashen	(73)
D33	Marshall, S.	Tullycore	(52)
D34	Morrow, R.B.	Tullywasnacunagh	(63)
D35	Donnan, R.	Cahard	(80)

COUNTY DOWN INFORMANTS (Continued)

			Age
D36	Jackson, A.	Barnamaghery	(79)
D37	Ward, G.	Derryboye	(56)
D38	Henderson, R.	The Clay	(67)
D39	Stewart, D.	Ringdufferin	(87)
D40	Breen, J.	Lisbane	(77)
D41	McCormick, S.	Ardkeen	(56)
D42	Gilmore, J.	Ballywallon	(57)
D43	Smyth, B.	Castleboy	(72)
D44	Watson, Mrs. H.	Slanes	(51)
D45	Flynn, C.	Ardminnan	(50)
D46	Morland, T.	Carrog	(63)
D47	Dines, Mrs. E.	Dooey	(70)
D48	Wilson, J.	Knockinelder	(56)
D49	Crangle, R.	Tullycarnan	(67)
D50	Herriott, J.	Killeen	(64)
D51	Taylor, J.	Knockbreckan	(80)
D52	Porter, W.	Drumbo	(64)
D53	Martin, J.	Ballymacbrennan	(60)
D54	Reid, J.	Cabra	(67)
D55	Bingham, J.	Cargacreevy	(70)
D56	Smyth, D.	Magheraknock	(83)
D57	Spratt, Miss C.	Leggygowan	(60)
D58	Hamilton, R.W.	Drumgiven	(77)
D59	Cherry, W.J.	Ballytrim	(63)
D60	McGifford, R.	Rathcunningham	(71)
D61	Smyth, S.	Drumlough	(86)
D62	Bell, R.	Ardtanagh	(72)
D63	Graham, R.	Aughnaskeagh	(63)
D64	Hamilton, W.J.	Mullaghdrin	(95)

COUNTY DERRY INFORMANTS

L1	King, H.	Lower Tamlaght, Kilrea	(66)
L2	Morrell, T.	Moneydig	(68)
L3	Steen, M.	Camm	(85)
L4	Gallagher, M.	Ballarena, Magilligan	(50)

COUNTY ANTRIM INFORMANTS

		Townland, etc.	Age
A 1	Lawrence, Charles	Gortconny	(94)
A 2	McCambridge, John	Armoy	(70)
A 3	Mullan, Archie	Islaharnan, Armoy	(59)
A 4	Hanna, Sam	Lavan, Loughgiel	(79)
A 5	Wilson, W.J.	Newtown Crommelin	(45)
A 6	Taggart, F.J.	Longmore, Aughafatten	(70)
A 7	Rock, Mrs.George	Drumack, Broughshane	(87)
A 8	McVey, Stewart	Aghalum, Carnlough	(65)
A 9	Craigie, (Mrs) Annie	Larne	(80)
A10	Gregg, (Mrs) Margaret	Glenoe	(76)
A11	Auld, James	Port Davey, I'magee	(65)
A12	Stewart, W.J.	Jordanstown Heights	(89)
A13	Craig, William	Dundrod	(70)
A14	Coulter, Arthur	Broundod, Doagh	(65)
A15	Bell, John	Ladyhill, Antrim	(35)
A16	McKay, John	Ballybolan, Ahoghill	(63)
A17	Wright, John	The Craigs	(68)
A18	McCloy, Robert	Drumcon	(76)
A19	Neeson, John	Crumlin	(82)
A20	Smyth, Robert	Killealy, Muckamore	(86)
A21	Carson, Andrew	Gauley Hill	(74)
A22	Marks, Thomas	Clonkeen, Randalstown	(80)
A23	Neeson, Robert	Magherabeg	(75)

COUNTY DONEGAL INFORMANTS

			Age
T 1	Kerr, Samuel.	Kerrykeel	(40)
T 2	McGrory, W.J.	Killygarvin.	(60)
T 3	Stewart, James.	Loughnakea, Milford.	(84)
T 4	Orr, Matthew.	Glenalla.	(80)
T 5	Hussey, (Mrs) Laura.	Aughavennon, R'Mullan.	(75)
T 6	Green, Hugh.	Grange (Quarterland), Inch.	(83)
T 7	Maguire, (Mrs) Mary.	Speenogue, Burt.	(50)
T 8	Mackey, Samuel.	Iskaheen.	(81)
T 9	Rankin, John.	Ture.	(60)
T10	O'Donnell, James.	Drumdaavin, Termon.	(74)
T11	Burrowes, (Mrs) Martha.	Drumore, Kilmacrennan	(73)
T12	McClay, Thomas.	Killydonnell, Ramelton.	(80)
T13	McDade, John.	Dooen, Newmills.	(55)
T14	Rutherford, James.	Sallybrook, Manorcunningham.	(25)
T15	McRae,	Rylands, Manorcunningham.	(75)
T16	Duncan, Thomas.	Ardagh.	(55)
T17	Bovaird, Andrew.	Cloughfin, Carrigans.	(85)
T18	Jenkins, John.	Glenmaquin, Upper.	(58)
T19	Tinney, Neil.	Drumkeen, Ballybofey.	(55)
T20	McKnight, Frank.	Mongorry, Raphoe.	(62)
T21	Beattie, Samuel.	Raphoe.	(60)
T22	Porter, John.	Gortness, Raphoe.	(64)
T23	McKean, Joseph.	Carrickmore, St.Johnstown.	(83)
T24	Brown, (Mrs) Andrew.	Drumkeen, Ballybofey.	(63)
T25	Porter (Miss) M.	Backtops, Raphoe.	(61)
T26	Meehan, Neil.	Argrey, Raphoe.	(74)
T27	Kerr, Patrick.	Cloughroe.	(75)
T28	Wallace, (Mrs) Martha.	Powderly, Carnowen.	(85)
T29	Deery, (Mrs) Andrew.	Liscooley, Castlefin.	(64)
T30	Cooper, (Mrs) James.	Dungorman, Castlefin.	(55)
T31	Gallen, Charles.	Ballylast, Castlefin.	(82)
T32	MacSuibhne, Seán Tam.	Glenvar, Rathmullan.	(65)
T33	Kerr, Daniel.	Corry, Portsalon.	(45)
T34	Friel, Cornelius.	Dunaff, Urris, Inishowen.	(80)

Chapter XIII

FOOTNOTES

1 Supplement, Bind V, to Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, Oslo, 1958.

2 McIntosh, A. Uldall, H. J., and Jackson, K., Linguistic Survey of Scotland : Postal Questionnaires, 1 and 2.

3 Catford, J. C., Linguistic Survey of Scotland (Scots Section) : Phonological Questionnaire.

4 Orton, H. Survey of English Dialects (A) : Introduction.

5 Orton, H. The Six Northern Counties and the Isle of Man.

6 Marshall, W. F., Ulster sails west, p. 31.

7 See Gregg, R. J., Article on Scotch-Irish urban speech in Ulster Dialects to be published by the Ulster Folk Museum, Belfast, (1963).

8 As pointed out by Mr. Trevor Hill of the LSS, the reverse holds good for Ayrshire.

9 Wright, J., in the English Dialect Grammar, cites the form /jō/ for es. Yks., Lin., Lei., w. and s. Wor., n. Wor., Glo., e. Oxf., n. and m. Bck., n. Ken., s. Sur., Sus., I.W., Dor., w. and s. Som., e. Dev. This form /jō/ is also widespread in E. Canada, specifically in Ontario.

A recent enquiry published in the Beeston Gazette and Echo elicited five replies all of which confirmed /jō/ (to rhyme with "Joe"), in local use at places such as Ripley and Matlock in Derbyshire; at Fenton in the potteries near Stoke-on-Trent; at Eastwood and Carrington near Nottingham; at Rainworth and Mansfield in N. Notts.; at Immingham near Grimsby in Lincs.

The form/θō/ appears in Wright for se. Nhb.,ne. and es Yks., em., sm., sw., ms. and s. Lan., s. Chs., n. and nw. Der., n. and s. Lin., Cmb., Nrf., c. Dor. It also survives at Fenton and Eastwood, (v.s.).

The forms /strō/ or /sθrō/ in Wright are given for sw. Nhb., ms. Lan., se. Yks., em. Lan. It also survives at Fenton and Eastwood, (v.s.).

10 See Gregg, R. J., article on SI urban speech in Ulster Dialects, to be published by the Ulster Folk Museum, Belfast, (1963).

11 See BIBLIOGRAPHY (ii).

12 See Moody, T. W., The Londonderry Plantation, 1609-1641, and Phillips, T., Londonderry and the London Companies.

13 See Pearson, A. F. S., Puritan and Presbyterian Settlements in Ireland (1560-1660).

14 See Marshall, W. F., Ulster sails west.

15 See Hume, A., Remarks on the Irish dialect of the English language.

16 "does be" here reflects the Irish Gaelic bionn, a habitual present tense.

17 The interference of Gaelic in the English of informant Mrs. Gaynor, (originally of Magheraneany), was very apparent. The interview with her was incomplete.

18 For a full account of these diphthongs see Gregg, R. J., SI Urban Speech, (v.s.).

19 This point is illustrated by some of the maps, in particular those for TOUGH, laghter, sheugh, TUP, WHIN, slap, weans, hain, gopin, lonin, guey, knowe.

20 Maps (in the Ulster Folk Museum), compiled by G. B. Adams and based on the 1911 census figures for Gaelic speech, show a Gaelic-speaking "corridor" linking the Glens of Antrim Gaeltacht with the Sperrins Gaeltacht. Such a corridor, stronger in earlier times, must have acted as a barrier between the Scots settlers in N. Antrim and those in central and S. Antrim.

21 A sample of this dialect - often quoted locally - is as follows:

"Gi'e yer haans a rib in the tib an come in for a kip o' tae".

22 See Adams, G. B., An Introduction to the Study of Ulster Dialects, p. 22 ff.

23 See many of the maps on which this overflow of SI forms down the eastern side of the tip of the peninsula is a very marked feature, especially with D43 and D44.

24 Once again the mixture of dialects comes out very clearly on the maps, especially with A22.

25 See Aldo Dami's map The Languages of Europe.

26 Gregg, R. J., Notes on the Phonology of a County Antrim SI Dialect (Part $\overline{I}$ Synchronic; Part $\overline{\overline{II}}$ Diachronic).

27 Cp. studies of Donegal Gaelic by Quiggan, Somerfelt, and more recently, Emrys Evans, (Celtic Department, University of Manchester), with those on Antrim by Nils Holmer.

28 Cp. the isogloss for DAUGHTER with that for sheugh.

29 See special map of Co. Down for this word (p. 98).

30 *Reported by Mr. Trevor Hill of the LSS.*

31 *See special map of Co. Down for this word (p. 99).*

32 *The latter form may reflect interference from the Irish Gaelic amhán.*

33 *See footnote 9 above.*

34 *See map 75.*

35 *See map 1.*

36 *See special map of Co. Down (p. 98) and general maps 13 - 20 (omitting map 16).*

37 *See special map of Co. Down (p. 99).*

38 *See special map of Co. Down (p. 100).*

Chapter XIV

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CONTRACTIONS

Apart from those in general currency, the following contractions are used:

ESc	Early Scots
G	Glenoe (dialect)
HE	Hiberno - English
L	Larne (speech)
L	Laggan (dialect)
LSS	Linguistic Survey of Scotland
M	Magilligan
M An	Mid Antrim
M Ar	Mid Ards
M Sc	Middle Scots
N An	North Antrim
N Ar	North Ards
NED	North East Derry
NWS	North West Strangford
PASID 58	Phonology of a County Antrim Scotch-Irish Dialect 1958, (Gregg, R. J.)
SE	Standard English
SI	Scotch-Irish
SIU	Scotch-Irish Urban (speech)
UAI	Ulster Anglo-Irish
WS	West Strangford (dialect)